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GREGORY OF TOURS[1]

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THE SIXTH CENTURY of our era has many surprises. It began in western Europe with the story of Frankish conquest and ended with the mission of St. Augustine to convert the Angles to Christianity. It was notable in Constantinople for the reign of Justinian, the last of the emperors to use Latin in official court circles, and for the last great spurt of imperial power which was buttressed by the conquests of Belisarius. Within a few years of the death of Justinian, Mohammed was born. At Soissons in 486 Clovis, the founder of the Merovingian dynasty, defeated Syagrius, the isolated Roman governor still carrying on in northern Gaul. For twenty-five years thereafter Clovis' program of expansion extended the Frankish kingdom into an empire spreading from the Rhine to the Pyrenees and from the lowlands of the north to the Alps. But the most momentous event of these years was the conversion of Clovis to orthodox Christianity in 496. The Franks, unlike many of the barbaric peoples, expanded their holdings instead of migrating. Moreover, there was enough vacant land in this area so that the old Gallo-Roman families were not wholly dispossessed. The orthodoxy of the new converts to Christianity in many cases did not improve their morals or lessen their savage cruelty, but it did enable them to enter a working agreement with members of the older families, many of whom had for generations been powerful as officials in the state or as bishops in the church.

There was in Merovingian Gaul a barbarization of the older Roman culture, but that culture was not wiped out. It gradually had its effect upon the barbarians and helped ameliorate the circumstances of an unhappy era. In 511 at the death of Clovis and again in 561 at the death of Chlotair I the kingdom was divided into four parts. Between 567 and 613 a series of civil wars ensued which made the history of Gaul a depressing story of war, murder, and violence. Social life was disrupted, and the poor were oppressed with almost intolerable economic burdens. From this lurid background emerged one of the most interesting figures of the century—the pious and able Gregory who held Tours, the premier bishopric of Gaul.

[1] This article is a revision of a paper presented before the Philadelphia Classical Club on December 3, 1943.

Georgius Florentius was born at Clermont-Ferrand in Aquitania on November 30 probably in 538.[2] He came from one of the most important Gallo-Roman families in his native town—a family which had among its members important officials of church and state. Later he took the name Gregorius from his maternal great-grandfather, the bishop of Langres. The importance of this older Gallo-Roman element in the new Frankish kingdom can be demonstrated by the career of this man, about whom Gregory wrote an admiring memoir.[3] He was born about 450 at the time when Attila was ravaging Europe. In 466-7 he became Count of Autun, a secular position which he held for forty years. In 506-7 he forsook secular office and at the request of the populace became bishop of Langres. He held this office for more than thirty-two years. In 539 he died full of years, honor, and good deeds. It is notable that he became Count of Autun before the Burgundians made that section a Germanic kingdom and retained that same office under the Burgundian kings. Moreover his years as bishop were marked by ascetic living although he possessed estates at Dijon and Autun. Another characteristic of his life illustrates the times well. As he grew older, stories spread of his miraculous healing virtue. His great-grandson records faithfully sample *miracula* and ends his memoir by saying: "We know many other things done by the same man, but lest we bore you, we have chosen a few items out of many." His son Tetricus followed him as bishop of Langres, and two of his grandsons became bishops of Tours.

Gregory, born about the time his great-grandfather died, lost his father early. From his eighth year he lived with his father's brother, Gallus, who was bishop of Clermont. Gregory often bears witness to the charm and good works of Avitus, qualities which had a lasting effect on the character of young Gregory.

These formative years were spent among men who combined ecclesiastical office with a position of great influence in the life of the country. It is hard to exaggerate the influence wielded by bishops like Gallus. His elevation to an important episcopate was bitterly assailed—a sign of the

[2] Scattered references in Gregory's works give most of the materials for an account of his life. Exhaustive references to his statements have not been included below. The complete text of Gregory is contained in *Monumenta Germaniæ historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum,* I, Hannover, 1884-5, edited by Wilhelm Arndt (part I, *Historia Francorum*) and Bruno Krusch (part II, *Hagiographica*). Arndt reviews the material for the life of Gregory in his introduction (pp. 1-23). Krusch has published addenda to this edition, *op. cit.,* VII (Hannover, 1920), pp. 707-772, as well as the first fasciculus of an *editio altera* containing *Hist. Franc.* I-V (Hannover, 1937). A complete edition of the *Historia Francorum* is that of H. Omont and G. Collon, revised by R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913). The translations from the preface and book I of the history have been made from the *editio altera;* those from book X from the edition of Omont, Collon, and Poupardin; those from the other works from the text of Krusch. For details about the text of the story of the seven martyrs of Ephesus see note 36. For Gregory's life and times cf. also M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters,* I (Munich, 1911), pp. 216-223, and Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul of the Merovingian Age* (London, 1926), pp. 308-351 ("Gregory of Tours and his Circle in Auvergne"). For his oral and written sources cf. especially G. Kurth, "De l'autorité de Grégoire de Tours", *Études franques* (Paris, 1919), II, pp. 117-206.

[3] *Vita patrum* 7.

importance of the office. While bishop he protected his people from secular cruelty and natural disasters alike. Exactions by corrupt officials, fire, and plague were ameliorated by his efforts. Such an office required not only piety and resolution but also administrative skill and executive ability.

Gregory's education is indicative of the times.[4] He shows great familiarity with the Bible—at times he quotes from variant versions of the Latin text. He is very familiar with later historians such as Eusebius-Hieronymus and Orosius *Adversus Paganos* which he considered authoritative. He is also familiar with a wide variety of works in verse and prose on the deeds and miracles of the saints, such as the *Vita Martini* and the *Dialogi* of Sulpicius Severus. His knowledge of orthodox doctrine and of the rules and canons necessary for the efficient and proper administration of the episcopal office was extensive. In addition he must have amassed a large body of practical knowledge of Frankish law and institutions. However, everything points to sharp limitations in his studies. These limitations are twofold. In the first place he seems to have had little knowledge of and less interest in the great theological writers of the third and fourth centuries. For him orthodoxy had reached the point where dogmas were no longer *sub iudice,* and his practical nature found no historical interest in issues now settled. In the second place his learning in the pagan classics was meagre. A century earlier his education would probably have included a large classical element. The view that Gregory was trained in his youth in Christian fundamentals and only in later life gained an acquaintance with pagan literature may well be correct.[5] He cites the *Æneid* of Vergil and the *Catilina* of Sallust. It has been suggested that these citations may reflect a schoolbook of excerpts.[6] However, there is some evidence of knowledge of Vergil's shorter works, of Horace, of Pliny the Elder, Gellius, and Servius.[7] In the preface of his *Gloria Martyrum* he shows a knowledge of the mythology and story of the *Æneid,* but indicates clearly his attitude toward profane learning:[8]

> Hieronymus . . . says that he was led before the throne of the Eternal Judge and lashed severely as a punishment because he often read the clever arguments

[4] In addition to items cited in note 2 cf. M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900* (New York, 1931), pp. 98-103.

[5] M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), pp. 103-110.

[6] G. Kurth, "Saint Grégoire de Tours et les études classiques au VIe siècle," *Revue des questions historiques,* XXIV (1878), pp. 586-593. This article was revised and enlarged as the first item in *Études franques* (Paris, 1919), I, pp. 1-29.

[7] M. Manitius, "Zur Frankengeschichte Gregors von Tours," *Neues Archiv,* XXI (1896), pp. 549-557.

[8] The twenty references in this passage are all to the *Æneid.* When applicable to specific incidents they show knowledge of books 1, 2, 4, 6, and 8. The references to *Neptuni iniuriam* and *Achillis argutias* do not agree with Vergil's account. In one passage the translation follows the punctuation and interpretation of H. W. Garrod, *Classical Review,* XXXIII (1919), p. 28 (*i.e., . . . Ascanii dilectionem, hymenæosque lacrimas . . .*) instead of that of Krusch (*. . . A. d. emeneosque, l. . . .*). Notes 10 and 11 concern two disputed items.

of Cicero and the deceptive lies of Vergil. . . .[9] Therefore we ought not recall the lying stories or the philosophers' wisdom which is hostile to God lest we fall under a judgment of eternal death. . . . I do not recall in my work the flight of Saturn, the wrath of Juno, the adulteries of Jupiter, the wrongdoing of Neptune, the sceptre of Æolus, the wars, shipwreck, and power of Æneas. I am silent about the mission of Cupid, the cherishing of Ascanius, the marriage, tears, and savage death of Dido, the dreary antechamber of Pluto, the criminal seizure of Proserpina,[10] the three-headed Cerberus. I will not repeat the speeches of Anchises, the ingenuity of the Ithacan, the shrewdness of Achilles, the deception of Sinon. I will not reveal the counsels of Laocoön, the strength of the son of Amphitryon, the battle, flight, and death of Cacus.[11] I will describe neither the appearance of the Eumenides and various monsters nor the other fabulous stories which this author mendaciously invented or depicted in heroic verse. Having glanced at all these events built on sand and soon to perish, we return rather to divine and evangelical miracles.

In another passage from the epilogue of his *Historia Francorum* Gregory shows his familiarity with *trivium* and *quadrivium* as outlined by Martianus Capella but implies that he himself had not been trained in the seven disciplines.[12]

Whatever his earlier training, his travels throughout Gaul as bishop of Tours and his friendship with eminent men such as the poet Fortunatus, probably did give him some contact with pagan literature in his maturer years. And yet if we turn to his own words, we find that he approached the composition of his major works with humility and misgiving. Two passages will serve as a transition from this discussion of Gregory's education to an account of his later life and his literary works. The first is the famous general preface of his history in which he explains why he attempted the work:

The cultivation of literature has departed from, nay rather perished in, the cities of Gaul, and no grammarian skilled in the dialectic art can be found to portray events in prose or verse. Nevertheless many things were done righteously or wickedly, the ferocity of nations raged, the fury of kings was roused, the church was attacked by heretics and protected by Catholics, faith in Christ glowed in many, grew lukewarm in some, churches too were enriched by the faithful and stripped by the faithless. Many men often groaned saying: "Woe to our days, since the zeal for letters has perished in our midst nor is there found among

[9] This is a rather inaccurate reference to an incident told by St. Jerome: *Epistulæ* 22, 30 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXII, col. 416). This passage is included in F. A. Wright (ed. and tr.), *Select Letters of St. Jerome* (the Loeb Classical Library, London, 1933), pp. 126-129.

[10] *Proserpinæ stuprosum raptum* is taken by Krusch to mean Pluto's seizure of Proserpina, and a reference is cited from Ovid (*Met.* 5, 395). However, it is clearly shown by Garrod (*loc. cit.*) that the adjective *stuprosum* would be incorrectly used in that case and consequently the phrase refers to the attempted seizure of Prosperina by Theseus and Pirithous (*Æn.* 6, 397, 601).

[11] *Iani* was in the manuscripts which Krusch used for his text in 1885, but in his note he suggested *Turni* since no such story concerning Janus is known. In an addendum to his critical note Krusch, who had discovered several more manuscripts, cited two other readings, *Turni* which confirmed his conjecture, and *iam: M. G. H., script. rerum Meroving.*, VII (Hannover, 1920), p. 726. However, Bonnet earlier suggested *Caci: Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), p. 81, note 4. Garrod (*loc. cit.*) argued for *Caci* without realizing that Bonnet had suggested it.

[12] This passage is translated below.

the peoples a man skilled in rhetoric who can publish the deeds of the present in books." Since these things and others like them were spoken, even though I have an uncultivated style, I was unable to conceal the battles of the wicked and of those living righteously, that the memory of men past might reach the knowledge of men to come. Moreover I was especially moved by this inducement because I marveled that it was often said by our people that few understood the philosophy of a learned man, but many the speech of a rustic. . . .[13]

The desire here expressed, to preserve an account of the good and evil of his own day for posterity is one which many historians have felt. Similarly Tacitus said: "I have decided not to narrate the decisions of the senate unless they were notably honorable or disgraceful because I think it the particular duty of history that virtues should not be silent and that fear of infamy with posterity should be present for evil words and deeds."[14]

The following passage explains how Gregory was persuaded to attempt his collection of the miracles wrought through the intervention of St. Martin:

The miracles which the Lord our God deigned to perform through his priest, the blessed Martin, in the flesh, he now deigns to conform daily to strengthen the belief of the faithful. God who acted in him when he was in this world now endows his tomb with miraculous powers and he who then sent him as a priest to the nations about to perish offers blessings to Christians through him. Therefore let no one doubt past miracles when he beholds the gift of the present signs given forth, since he sees the lame made straight, the blind given sight, demons put to flight, and other kinds of disease cured by his healing. Verily to increase faith in that account which was written by earlier men concerning his life, at the command of the Lord I will relate for posterity as many current miracles as I can recall. I would not presume to do this, had I not been warned twice and thrice in a vision. Nevertheless I call Almighty God to witness that by chance I saw in a dream at noon in the basilica of St. Martin many sick and oppressed by different diseases cured, and I saw these things while my mother was watching who said to me: "Why are you slow in writing that which you see?" I answered: "You know that I am not learned in literature and being simple and unskilled would not dare describe such awe-inspiring miracles. Would that Severus or Paulinus were alive, or indeed that Fortunatus were present to describe these deeds! For I incompetent would incur shame if I tried to do this." And she said to me: "Do you know that on account of the ignorance of the people among us the way you can speak is considered more intelligible? So do not hesitate and do not delay doing this since it will be a charge against you if you pass over these deeds in silence." So I wish to do this but am afflicted by double dread, equally by grief and fear; grief because such great miracles done under our predecessors have not been described, fear of approaching so excellent a work, rustic that I am. But led by the hope of divine favor I will approach what is advised. For he, who produced water from a dry rock in the desert to quench the burning thirst of a people, is able, I believe, to display these things through my tongue. It will certainly be evident that he has again opened the mouth of an ass if opening my unlearned lips he deems it worthy to expound these deeds. But why do I fear my

[13] *Hist. Franc., Præfatio.*

[14] *Annales* 3, 65, 1.

rusticity when the Lord, our Redeemer and our God, chose for the destruction of the vanity of worldly wisdom not orators but fishermen, not philosophers but countrymen. And so I am confident because of your prayers that even if my rude speech cannot decorate the page, the glorious priest will make it gleam with his famous miracles.[15]

During the years which followed the death of his uncle Gregory led a comparatively uneventful life. He received deacon's orders at the normal time, traveled to various cities in central Gaul, collected stories concerning Frankish history and his favorite subject, the miracles and lives of the saints. One event had a marked effect upon him. In 563 he became seriously ill, and this illness left him only after he had made a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Martin. This journey, which he described later, seemed so important to him that he meticulously noted its date: "In the hundred and sixty-third year after the holy and blessed Martin, in the seventh year in which Eufronius held the episcopate of Tours, and in the second year of King Sigibert. . . ."[16] This Eufronius was his mother's first cousin. It was in these days that Gregory saw, as Dill says, "the clearest proof that the true refuge of anyone who has been crossed in baptism is in the help and protection of the saints."[17]

In 572 or 573 Gregory was called by people and clergy, nobles and king, to assume the bishopric left vacant at Tours by the death of his cousin Eufronius. He was suited for the post by birth, training, and temperament. Of the eighteen preceding bishops all but five had come from branches of Gregory's own family. In the epilogue of his history he sketches the careers of these men and ends with a brief account of his own tenure in the office:

I, unworthy Gregory, as the nineteenth bishop, received the church of the city of Tours in which the blessed Martin and other priests of the Lord were consecrated to the pontifical office. In the seventeenth year of my ordination I dedicated this church which I had received destroyed by fire and which I rebuilt as a larger and higher edifice. . . . In the cell of St. Martin near the church itself I placed the relics of the martyrs, Sts. Cosmas and Damian. I found the walls of the sacred basilica blackened by fire and I ordered that they be painted and decorated with their former brilliance by the skill of our workmen. I ordered a baptistery built beside the basilica and in it I placed the relics of St. John together with those of the martyr Sergius. In the earlier baptistery I placed the relics of the martyred St. Benignus. In fact, in many places within the boundaries of Tours I dedicated churches and oratories and made them famous with the relics of saints. I thought it wearisome to recall all of these in order.[18]

What Gregory fails to record in this sketch because of his modesty

[15] *Virtutes Martini* 1, *Præfatio.*
[16] *Virtutes Martini* 1, 32.
[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 327.
[18] *Hist. Franc.* 10, 31 (*ad finem*).

can be filled in from the references in his own history of the times. Becoming bishop at a time when civil war was common throughout Gaul, he was not spared some of the consequences of strife. In the struggle between Sigibert and Chilperic he sided with his patron Sigibert. When Sigibert was assassinated in 575 and Chilperic gained power over Tours, the brutal and sacrilegious Count Leudastes and the unscrupulous Queen Fredegundis harassed Gregory until Gregory finally had the king deprive Leudastes of his office. Intrigue then reached the point where charges were aimed at Gregory himself. In 580 Gregory was forced to clear himself of three charges at an episcopal synod. Moreover Tours was ravaged by savage quarrels of Frankish noblemen, by fire, by plague, by flood, and by incursions of bands of highwaymen. Law and order in those days were frequently enforced by the strong character of ecclesiastics such as Gregory rather than by the duly appointed secular authorities. Throughout such strife and bloodshed Gregory seems to have maintained his serenity and courage buoyed up by his ever-present faith not only in the protection of heaven but also in his belief in the miraculous power of St. Martin.

For twenty-two years Gregory was the premier bishop of Gaul. In such a position he could have few if any close friends, but his acquaintances were numerous. He knew all of the important secular and ecclesiastical officials. *Quorum pars magna fuit.* He led a life filled with multifarious duties, and administrative problems must have pressed upon him. Had he been occupied only with his episcopal duties, he would have led a full life. However, in his spare hours he turned to writing, perhaps as a release from the cares of his office. He wrote voluminously on two subjects: history and hagiography. Most of his work seems to have been completed while he was bishop, although he doubtless collected material in his earlier years.

Before we turn to a list of Gregory's writings, let us consider some of their characteristics. We have already seen that he apologized for his rusticity and lack of learning. His language presents many difficulties. Some of these are due to the common speech of the day, since the constructions, words, and spellings of mediæval Latin abound. But what is peculiar to Gregory is the variety of his language, since often he is not just different from the classical norm; he is also at variance with similar writers of his own day. He may use two or three different spellings or two or three inconsistent constructions within a short passage. In these cases he shows the lack of standardization which is so often found in mediæval writers. Arndt and Krusch wisely retain the oddities found in Gregory's works since most of them are due to Gregory, not to errors of transmission. A careful analysis of his language is very instructive for

the student of linguistics, of history, or of Gregory. Such an analysis has been made by the French scholar Max Bonnet.[19]

A consideration of Gregory's motives is illuminating. It has been suggested that composition formed a release from the cares of the episcopal office, but his major purpose was religious instruction and affirmation of his personal faith. Both his tales of the saints and his stories of secular events have the aim of strengthening the belief of the faithful and converting the heathen. This statement raises the question as to Gregory's own sincerity of belief in many of his stories. His sincerity is so obvious that many writers have labeled him credulous and superstitious. It is true that this capable executive who was able in his own administration to exercise shrewd skepticism does accept far more stories of the miraculous actions connected with the saints than either scholarly research or ecclesiastical canons might warrant. However, here we must remember the times, and judge Gregory in the light of his environment. In this discussion two passages from modern scholars seem appropriate.

> It is the Church's high privilege to save men not only from the eternal doom, but from the torment inflicted by evil spirits in this present life. And against their arts she can summon the army of martyrs and holy ones departed, to whom is given, in virtue of their sanctity, to succour those who in faith invoke their help and mediation. And this is not mere spiritual help. The Divine Grace in its infinite compassion has rewarded their virtue by giving to their bones and dust, nay to shreds of their garments or of the pall upon their tombs, a strange efficacy to heal disease and drive away evil spirits, if the afflicted one use these sacred relics with unwavering faith. Human life being then such as it was, so full of violence with little regular restraint from law, so tainted with unchecked disease, so darkened by weird terror, it is little wonder that the magical and superstitious side of religion became the most powerful. It seemed to satisfy universal cravings. Its luxuriant growth was not kept down by any body of sceptical intelligence in the higher class.[20]

> Science had not yet given men a conception of a universe ruled by unchanging laws. It was left for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to do that, and perhaps it is the natural reaction of the twentieth century to ask whether after all it may not be possible that there is something more in these strange stories than the earlier editors of Bede believed, and that these holy men, living lives of incredible hardships and asceticism, actually reached a state of being in which they possessed powers—hypnotism, clairvoyance, telepathy—call them what you choose—which are not perhaps miraculous in the strict sense of the term but would certainly be considered so in the early middle ages. The age of Bede was primitive in its outlook; it was naturally credulous, and the nature of evidence was but vaguely understood. All around them men saw inexplicable phenomena, and the most marvellous explanation was always the easiest and the most readily accepted; the pious and the simple-minded were naturally ready to explain a phenomenon as the direct inter-

[19] Cited in note 11.

[20] Dill, *op. cit.*, pp. 324 f.

position of God on their behalf or on behalf of those who were especially dear to Him, such as the saints and martyrs.[21]

There was too in Gregory, despite a proper modesty and humility, a feeling that his writings would be lasting and bring him fame. This is to be noted in his exhortation found at the end of his history, not to excerpt or destroy his work.[22] Our author is a natural-born teller of tales. He relieves the repetitions of hagiography by his fluent and able narrative style. From his writings we can guess that he must have been an effective preacher—aptly illuminating his discourses with examples from his collection of stories. Not without reason has he frequently been compared to Herodotus: "Gregory of Tours, the French Herodotus of the sixth century in the time of the Merovingians, does not differ substantially from the father of Greek history. Like him, although with more real naïveté, he reports the most fabulous hearsay as complacently as the best attested events."[23]

His memory, too, must have been prodigious, since many passages seem to have been stories which he had gathered in conversation and recorded later. At times he tells us specifically where he obtained the stories, at others we may guess the origin. A large proportion of the material in his history as well as in his hagiographic work stems from his conversations and personal experiences, and we are reminded that he was not a cloistered scholar, but a traveled churchman who had a wide circle of acquaintances and a taste for conversation on edifying subjects. Above all his industry is remarkable. It recalls the younger Pliny's account of his uncle's use of every spare minute of the day.[24]

He has given us a list of his works in the epilogue of the *Historia Francorum* as Bede did later in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.[25] This passage has already been mentioned twice above—once for the reference to Martianus Capella and again for a slight but pardonable deviation from modesty.

> I wrote ten books of Histories, seven of Miracles, one on the Lives of the Fathers; I composed one book as a treatise on the Psalter; I was the author of one book on Ecclesiastical Duties. Although I have written these books in rather rustic style, nevertheless I conjure all of you, priests of the Lord who after my humble tenure shall hold the church of Tours, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the day of judgement terrible for all sinners . . . do not cause these books to be destroyed or revised, choosing certain parts and passing over certain parts, but allow them all to remain with you whole and untouched just as they

[21] Bertram Colgrave, "Bede's Miracle Stories" in A. Hamilton Thompson, *Bede, his Life, Times and Writings* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 201 f.

[22] Cf. note 18.

[23] J. Calmette, *Le monde féodal* (rev. ed., Paris, 1937), p. xvi.

[24] *Epist.* 3, 5, 7-17.

[25] 5, 24 (*ad finem*).

have been left by us. But if, priest of God, whoever you are, our Martianus has taught you in the seven disciplines, that is, he has taught you by grammar to read, by dialectic to make use of the divisions of argumentation, by rhetoric to recognize the types of metres, by geometry to understand the measurements of the earth and of lines, by astrology to look at the courses of the stars, by arithmetic to apprehend the parts of numbers, by harmony to adapt the modulation of sweet music to verses; if you have been so practiced in all of these arts that my style is rustic to you, I pray that not even so will you remove what I have written. But should anything in these works please you, I do not forbid you to write it in verse provided the complete work be left unharmed. These books I wrote in the twenty-first year of my ordination. . . .[26]

Of his works the best known is his *Historia Francorum,* in ten books. In the first he covered universal history and the history of Gaul to the death of St. Martin, third bishop of Tours, in A.D. 397. So rapid is his narrative that he reaches the Frankish kings in the ninth chapter of the second book. Typical of his rapidity and the peculiar slant of the work is his account of Julius and Augustus:

After these men Julius Cæsar was the first emperor who obtained monarchical power over the whole empire; the second emperor was Octavianus, nephew of Julius Cæsar, whom they call Augustus, from whom the month August is named. In the nineteenth year of his rule we find that Lyons in Gaul was founded, a city afterwards called most noble since it was made illustrious by the blood of the martyrs.

In the forty-third year of the rule of Augustus, our Lord Jesus Christ, as we have said, was born to the flesh of the Virgin Mary in Bethlehem, the city of David. Wise men from the east seeing his great star came with gifts, and when they had offered the gifts, adored the boy as supplicants. Herod in his anxiety for his kingdom and attempting to persecute Christ our God, killed the infants. He too was afterwards stricken by divine judgment.[27]

The next three books narrate the history of the Frankish kings until the death of Sigibert in 575. The last six books which cover in great detail the history of the years 575 to 591, a great repository of information about the life of the times, are filled with social, religious, political, and economic data. To Gregory's work the adjective *ecclesiastica,* which Bede used later, might fairly be applied. The church loomed so large in those days that any history which did not cover its activities in great detail would be misleading. It is fair to say that Gregory had a strong love of truth and is an honest and fearless witness of his own time. His high position and wide knowledge fitted him for his duty as a historian. He quotes many written sources and surely used more, but for his own period his inquiries and experience furnished him with much of the material. This summary by Manitius is reasonable: "The work tells the history of the Merovingians without art or ornament in plain language, without

[26] Cf. note 18.

[27] *Hist. Franc.* 1, 18-19.

exaggeration or rhetorical device. His viewpoint is neither that of the Roman nor of the German; his work shows the full amalgamation of both nations."[28]

In Gregory's history there is a strong hagiographic element since he never hesitated to insert in his narrative stories of saints and their miracles. For example, any index of the history will contain repeated references to St. Martin. On the other hand, Gregory's hagiographic works often contain historical references.

To the seven books of *Miracula* which Gregory lists, Krusch added the *De vita patrum* and edited them in the following order: one book *In gloria martyrum,* one *De passione et virtutibus sancti Iuliani martyris,* four *De virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi,* one *De vita patrum,* and one *In gloria confessorum.* To these are added one book *De miraculis beati Andreæ apostoli,* edited by Max Bonnet who argues convincingly that it is by Gregory although it does not appear on Gregory's own list. Two minor works are preserved: *Passio sanctorum martyrum septem dormientium apud Ephesum* and *De cursu stellarum.* Fate and his successors were kind to Gregory, since all of the works listed above are preserved *in toto.* Only his *In Psaltarii tractatum commentarius* is fragmentary.[29]

A general comment can be made on these works. At no place does Gregory attempt a long-extended narrative. All of the works consist of series of short stories woven together, and often the thread connecting them is thin. Usually the stories seem to have been written at varying times and strung together when no more was left to be said.

The shrine of St. Martin had always had peculiar interest for Gregory, but on his elevation to the bishopric of Tours he became even more interested in the miracles connected with the name of Martin. In the first book he related the account of the death of Martin and the miracles before his own time. He did not dwell on the events of Martin's life which had been mentioned in his history, and which had been narrated at an earlier time by Severus and Paulinus, with whose lives of Martin he was thoroughly familiar. The remaining books told of the miracles in Gregory's own lifetime—some he had seen, some he had heard from firsthand witnesses, others he had gathered from conversations of those who had heard them at second or third hand.

The single book on St. Julian of Brioude is similar on a smaller scale to the four on St. Martin. In the accounts of the martyrs more biographical material appears and much of the material comes from written sources. The choice of men in the book on the confessors is notable in that it is limited largely to inhabitants of Gaul. This limitation is to be found also

[28] *Op. cit.,* p. 221.

[29] The order and the titles generally follow Krusch.

in the lives of the fathers where there is a further distinction, for the accounts are longer and contain even more biographical material. Here we have an extremely good account of the earlier Gregory of Langres, his great-grandfather, of Gallus, and of others who played a large part in the history of Gaul. The miracles of St. Andrew are chosen on the basis of unfamiliarity. They are stories which had been handed down by oral tradition, or which had been excluded by earlier more critical writers, or which had appeared only in obscure accounts.

Of special interest and different character is the short work *De cursu stellarum ratio, qualiter ad officium implendum debeat observari.* This was mentioned by Gregory in the passage translated above as *De cursibus ecclesiasticis.* In earlier editions omitted as lost it was identified and published by Haase.[30] So complete and authoritative is this edition that Krusch said of it: ". . . successoribus vix quidquam addendum reliquit."[31] As is indicated by the title and as Gregory pointed out, its purpose was to instruct the clergy in enough astronomy so they could perform their duties at the proper hour of the night.[32] In giving his astronomical data he used the common names of the stars, not the names given to them by "Maro and the other poets." This he did as more suitable to his own rusticity and that of his readers. Galle, an astronomer consulted by Haase, testified to the accuracy of Gregory's knowledge. One feature of the *codex Bambergensis* is the use of figures illustrating the descriptive material. Of even more interest is the prefatory material in which Gregory lists the seven man-made wonders of the world and contrasts them with the seven divine wonders of the world. His first list is interesting because of its deviation from the ordinary lists: Noah's ark, Babylon, Solomon's temple, the mausoleum, the colossus at Rhodes, the theatre at Heraclea, and the pharos of Alexandria.[33] The wonders created by God are the ebb and flow of the tides, the growth of plants, the phœnix, Mount Ætna, the hot springs of Grenoble, the sun, and the phases of the moon.[34] Throughout we find interest in knowledge for its own sake more marked than in his other works.

One story which was especially interesting to Gregory is that of the seven martyrs of Ephesus. In his work on the martyrs he told the story briefly and said that he had translated a more complete version with the aid of a certain Syrian.[35] This longer version was passed over by some of Gregory's editors but was restored to its proper place by Krusch. Later,

[30] Frid. Haase, Vratislavæ, 1853.
[31] P. 857.
[32] 16.
[33] 2-8.
[34] 9-16.
[35] *Gloria martyrum* 94.

on the basis of more manuscripts, Krusch revised the text twice.[36] Krusch in the prefaces of his three editions has discussed in detail the origins of Gregory's sources. Ever since, it has been one of the most popular stories concerning the times of the early church.[37] It is an excellent example of Gregory's ability to take a story already known and tell it rapidly and simply. Its setting is laid at the time of the persecution by Decius in A.D. 249 and in the time of Theodosius II (A.D. 408-450).[38]

THE PASSION OF THE SEVEN SAINTED MARTYRS SLEEPING AT EPHESUS

1. In the time of the emperor Decius, when throughout all the earth the persecution of the Christians was being stirred up and deadly sacrifices were being offered to vain idols, there were in the palace of the king seven important men, born of noble lineage, by name Achillidis, Diomedis, Diogenus, Probatus, Sambatus, Stephanus, and Quiriacus. They often saw the savage crimes of the emperor when he ordered that deaf and dumb idols be worshiped instead of Eternal God. Stirred by God, they hurried to baptism and were named Maximianus, Malchus, Martinianus, Constantinus, Dionisius, Johannis, Serapion.[39] Then Decius, when he arrived at the city of Ephesus, ordered that the Christian race be sought out with such zeal that he might be able, if heaven allowed, to snuff out the very name of the religion. At last sacrifices are prepared and he sacrifices and with beguiling words and with threats of terror stirs up his own men to sacrifice. All were sacrificing victims; the whole city reeked with the smell of the dreadful ceremonies. When the seven champions of Christ saw this, with tears they prostrated themselves in prayer and, sprinkling dust on their heads, urgently called upon the compassion of the Lord, that looking down from his holy heaven he should not allow the people for long to be destroyed in this frowardness.

2. When this was discovered persecutors of the Christian name came to the prince saying: "The orders of your realm, O king, traverse the whole of the earth, and none dares to go against your command, and all taste the daily sacrifices to the immortal gods save seven men whom you foster and cherish with singular affection." To them the emperor said: "And who are these?" They replied: "Maximianus, son of the prefect, with his accomplices." And immediately, while the emperor raged, they were led into his presence loaded with fetters, having their faces suffused with tears and dust on their heads just as they had been while praying in the sight of the Master. Looking at them, the emperor said: "Does such great treachery of an evil mind possess you that you dare to infringe upon our dignity and refuse due burnt offerings to the immortal gods? For I say to you on my honor that you will undergo divers kinds of torture for your contempt of our gods." The men replied, saying: "Our God is the one, true God, the Creator of heaven and earth and sea, to whom we offer the due sacrifice of daily

[36] The three editions are as follows: (1) *M. G. H., script. rerum Meroving.*, I (1885), pp. 848 (introduction), 849-853 (text). (2) *Analecta Bollandiana*, XII (1893), pp. 371-377 (introduction), 377-387 (text). (3) *M. G. H., script. rerum Meroving.*, VII (1920), pp. 757-761 (introduction), 761-769 (text). The third is used in the translation below.

[37] Cf. J. Koch, *Die Siebenschlaeferlegende, ihr Ursprung und ihre Verbreitung, Leipzig*, 1883 (cf. pp. 89-97 especially for Gregory); M. Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von dem Siebenschlaefern*, Leipzig, 1910.

[38] Cf. Koch, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 f.

[39] Two series of names are found in variant versions. Gregory first reconciled them as the names of the seven before and after baptism.

praise, for whose honor we are prepared to die. We know that those names which you urge us to worship, under the name of gods, are absolutely nothing, because they are able to make no use of life, since they are fashioned with limbs by the art of artisans. And so those who worship them are by the sanction of the prophets condemned to become like them—both those who made them and those who worship them."

3. Then the emperor raged and, when all men had been removed, said: "Depart, gallows birds,[40] from our presence, until, practicing penitence for the crime of this obstinacy, you shall be received in our palace and reconciled by the mercy of the gods. Until then you shall enjoy the flower of youth because it is not fitting that such physical charm and beauty be subjected to torture." And when the iron had been stricken from their necks, he ordered them to go free until he should return to Ephesus. When the seven men had received permission to go and the emperor had departed to another city, they went to their own homes. And when the treasures in their homes had been examined, they took their gold and silver and all their garments and furniture, and having distributed it to the poor, went to a cave in Mount Chilleus, carrying with them a little money for the purchase of the necessities of life. And they chose Malchus to go secretly to the city, buy food, and hear what the emperor was decreeing daily concerning the Christians.

4. Then when the saints freed from prison were enclosed under barriers, and were free for continual prayer, that most worthless emperor returned to Ephesus, and when according to his wont Christians were sought out, he asked about Maximianus and his comrades. Their parents, however, said they were hidden in a certain cave in Mount Chilleus from which they could easily be routed out if a regal order of the emperor should go forth. When the men, at Malchus' announcement, learned this, extremely terrified they prostrated themselves on the ground and with tears prayed that God, guarding them under his protection should free them from the sight of that most unjust emperor. While they were praying, God in his providence, because they were needed for the future, heard their prayer and caught up their souls. And they lay on the ground as though sleeping in sweet sleep.

5. Then the emperor troubled said to his men: "Go, therefore, and stop up the mouth of the cavern lest those rebels against the gods have a way to go forth." While those men were going forth who were to stop up the mouth of the cave, two men went ahead of them, Theodorus and Ruben, Christians, who because of the emperor's threats were praying to Christ in secret. They wrote on lead tablets the whole history of the saints and placed these inside in the entrance to the cavern, without the knowledge of any, saying: "Whenever God wishes to reveal the blessed limbs of his champions to the peoples, let these tablets teach what they have endured in his name." And when those came who had been sent, they rolled up great stones, closed the entrance of the cave, then went away saying: "Let them grow weak with hunger and devour themselves with their own jaws, who considered it of little worth to offer due libations to our gods."

6. After this when Decius was dead, in the following times the height of power came to Theodosius, son of Arcadius. In his time that unclean sect of the Sadducees arose, wishing to destroy the hope of resurrection, saying that the dead do not rise. The fountainheads of this heresy were the bishops Theodorus and Gaius, who wished to join the soul of the emperor himself to this unbelief. Whence it happened that the emperor, much afflicted for this reason and prostrate

[40] *Furciferi*, often applied to slaves in comedy, became a taunt with a double meaning when applied to Christians. Cf. Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 2, 317.

on the ground, prayed to the Lord that he should make known to him what he should fitly believe. There was at that time in Ephesus a certain Dalius, extremely rich in flocks, who, going around Mount Chilleus, ordered his servants, saying: "Prepare enclosures here for our sheep, because this place is suitable for feeding the flocks." For he did not know what had occurred in the cave. However, while the servants were working and rolling out huge rocks, they came to the mouth of the cave and found great stones. Rolling these away, they constructed a wall. Nevertheless they did not enter the cave.

7. Then the Lord ordered the breath of life to return to the bodies of the saints, and they arose and greeted each other after their custom, and thinking they had slept only one night, they sat down strong and vigorous. For not only were their bodies comely and very beautiful, but even their garments were untouched and unharmed, just as they had been put on by them a great many years before. And turning to Malchus they said: "Tell us, brother, we ask, what the emperor has said this night, or if we have been sought out, that we might know." To them he said: "You have been sought out that you might sacrifice to the gods." To him Maximianus said: "All of us are prepared to die for Christ. But now take pieces of silver and go to purchase food and listen carefully and report to us what you have heard." And so he took the money and left. For these were silver pieces stamped with the name of Decius. However, approaching the gate of the city he saw the sign of the cross above the gate and thunderstruck he marveled, saying to himself: "Was the heart of Decius changed yesterday after the setting of the sun when I left the city so that he should protect those entering through the gate with the sign of the cross?" And he entered the city and heard men swear by the name of Christ and saw a church and a priest who was hastening to and fro through the city, and he examined new walls, and marveling even more he said to himself, "Think you that you have entered another city?" And approaching the market he brought forth his pieces of silver, asking that they give him food.

8. But they examined the stamp of his silver and said: "This man has found ancient treasures, for, behold, he offers silver from the time of Decius." Malchus, in truth, hearing these things, was turning over his thoughts in his heart, saying: "What mean these things? Do I see a vision?" However the men took him and led him to the bishop Marinus and the prefect. To him the prefect said: "Whence are you and from what region have you come?" He said: "From Ephesus, if indeed this is the city of the Ephesians, which I remember seeing yesterday." The prefect said: "Whence have you these pieces of silver?" He replied: "I took them from the home of my father." The prefect said: "And where is your father?" And he named his parents, but nobody recognized them. The prefect said: "Tell us, whence have you these pieces of silver? For they are from the time of Decius, who has been dead for years. From this it is manifest that you have come to deceive the wise men of the Ephesians and for this reason ought to be subjected to torture until you disclose the truth." And Malchus, moved, said with astonishment and tears: "I would ask you one thing if you think it worthy. Where is the emperor Decius who persecuted Christians in this city?" Marinus the bishop replied: "Dearly beloved son, there is not a man in this city who recalls the time of Decius; for he died many years ago."

9. Malchus hearing this turned and said to the bishop: "I thought that I with my brothers had slept only one night, but, as I learn, the course of many years has passed during our sleep. And now the Lord has aroused me with my brothers that every age might know that the resurrection of the dead will come to pass. Therefore follow me and I will show you my brothers who have arisen with me."

Then the astonished bishop with the prefect and all the people followed Malchus and came to the cave. While Malchus was telling his brothers what had happened to him in the city, the bishop entered and found a box sealed with two silver seals. He went outside and calling together the whole multitude of the city with the prefect he opened the seals and found the two lead tablets on which had been written the whole passion of these men, as I have related above. And they learned that those things were true which were said by Malchus.

10. Then having entered, they found the blessed martyrs sitting in a corner of the cave, and their countenances were flourishing like the rose and shining in virtue like the sun; for their garments and bodies had not been destroyed. Then Marinus the bishop with the prefect fell at their feet and worshiped them, and all the people glorified God who deemed it proper to show such a miracle to his servants. In truth the saints told the bishop and all the people what had happened to them in the time of Decius. Then the bishop with the prefect sent messengers to the emperor Theodosius, saying: "Hasten quickly if you wish to see a great miracle which is manifest in your times, by the gift of God. For if you come, you will find out that the hope of resurrection is verily so in accordance with the solemn promise of the evangelical covenant."

11. The emperor Theodosius hearing this arose from his couch of mourning and extending his hands to God, said: "I thank you, Lord Jesus Christ, the sun of justice, who have deemed it proper to sprinkle the shadows of mortals with the light of your truth; I thank you who did not permit the lamp of my confession to be veiled by the vile fog of false advocacy." When he had said these things and his horsemen had mounted, he came with the greatest haste to Ephesus. Then the bishop with the prefect and the whole multitude of the city came out to meet the emperor. Then while they were ascending the mountain, the sainted martyrs came out to meet Augustus, and their faces gleamed with virtue like the sun. And Augustus fell to the earth and worshiped them, glorifying God. And rising he kissed them and wept on the neck of each one of them, saying: "I see your faces as if I saw my Lord Jesus Christ when he called Lazarus from the tomb, to whom I offer unlimited thanks because he has not withdrawn from me the hope of resurrection."

12. Then Maximianus replied: "Know, emperor, that the Lord ordered us to rise again to strengthen your faith. Therefore trusting always in him learn that the resurrection of the dead will come to pass, since today you see us after our resurrection speaking with you and telling the greatness of God." And they spoke many other things with him, and having stretched themselves on the ground again slept, handing over their souls to the immortal king and almighty God. The emperor seeing these things fell upon their bodies and weeping kissed them, and taking off his own raiment placed it upon them, ordering golden coffins to be made in which they might be buried. But on that night the saints appeared saying: "Do not do this, but leave us above the earth; whence a second time the Lord will arouse us on the great day of the resurrection of all flesh." Then the emperor built above them a great basilica and constructed there a place of refuge for the poor, ordering that they be fed at public expense. And when the bishops had been called together he celebrated a festival of the saints, and all glorified God in whose Trinity is perfect honor and glory for age upon age. Amen.

Here ends the passion of the seven sainted martyrs sleeping near Ephesus, translated into Latin by the bishop Gregory, with the interpretation of Johannes the Syrian. The day of their passion is observed on the fourth of August.[41]

[41] The phrase . . . *IIII id. Ags.* means August 4. In the *Menologia Græca* August 4 and October 22 or 23 are listed, in the *Menologia Latina* July 27: cf. the note by Krusch.

PRELUDE TO PREACHING

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Recently one of the officials of an interdenominational missionary society said that when he visited the headquarters of the organization in New York, he was greeted by the executive secretary who led him to a room, opened the door, and said: "Tread softly, for herein is the abode of the Father of Lies. This is where we keep the catalogues of all the colleges and seminaries in our country."

Scarcely a day goes by but there comes to my desk either a card or a letter which reads somewhat as follows:

> Dear Sir:
>
> I am a student at ——— College and expect to be graduated with an A.B. degree in June. Will you please send me a copy of your latest catalogue, describing your school and giving information concerning courses, entrance requirements, scholarships, opportunities for employment and self-aid, and other information? I must work my way through Seminary and will need financial assistance. Thank you for your courtesy.
>
> Very truly yours,
>
> Sylvester A. Smith.

Accordingly a catalogue is sent and a letter of encouragement follows. I have often wondered just what information Sylvester is really interested in and what he receives from the seminaries to which he writes. Apparently he will be better fitted educationally than the average minister, for he will have an A.B. degree and he has made plans to go on and receive a seminary education. But if he receives bulletins from several divinity schools, many and varied are the things he will discover which seem necessarily important as part of his theological training.

To misquote, I suppose to "heir" is human, and the educators who father the catalogues reveal their essential humanity by representing their institutions to be the very best, for superlatives are used freely. In fact, at one point (usually at the beginning of the publication), Sylvester might well imagine that the local chamber of commerce had a hand in the writing, for he will discover that wherever the seminary is located (in almost all cases) is the ideal situation for such a school as he seeks to enter. If the amount of space and the number of words impress him, he will soon be led to believe that the location of an institution of higher learning is of supreme importance.

Not only will he be told the many advantages of the site of the school but in some instances will receive detailed instructions as to how to reach the place. He might read, for instance, "After selling the Addison Street property, Maywood succeeded over the invitations of other cities and towns in having the institution located where it has been since 1910. . . . As Maywood is only nine miles from the Chicago Business 'Loop,' with its Lake (Michigan) Front, it is within easy reach of the throbbing activities of the commercial centre of that great city. One of the several great surface-elevated lines of Greater Chicago passes through Maywood into Chicago, with a station at Eleventh Avenue, where all of the Metropolitan electric trains stop. This station is only two blocks from the Seminary campus. Trains in both directions run every twelve minutes, except at night when they run every twenty-four minutes. On this same line are also many express trains between Chicago and outlying cities. All of these inter-urban trains stop at Maywood, only six blocks from the Seminary grounds."

Does Sylvester like water? Then he will be interested in the school "situated on the wooded shore of beautiful Lake Winona," where "the out-door environment offers very unusual and pleasant recreational facilities." Of the five pictures in the catalogue one is of a boat and two are full-page photographs of the lake.

Or perhaps he will find the animals helpful in his study, for one campus "now consists of about thirty-five acres in Upper Dayton View overlooking the city and beautiful Miami Valley. Nature could not well design a more desirable location. There are beautifully wooded areas inhabited by saucy squirrels and singing birds. Green lawns with shrubs and trees invite students to physical recreation as well as to study and communion with God."

The purity of the population of Knoxville gives distinction to the site of another school, located about twelve miles east of that beautiful Southern city of "approximately 140,000 population. Knoxville has the purest native-born population of any city in America—only about 1.3 per cent foreign born and about 14.4 per cent Negro. The College could scarcely be situated in a more attractive spot. The hills and mountains, far and near, on several sides, are rugged and majestic. The river adds its natural charm. The foliage is entrancing throughout the year. Being far removed from pent-up city surroundings one's view of the heavens is unobstructed."

Drinking water, refinement of citizens, and cultural advantages are all offered. "Lexington is located in the heart of the Blue Grass Region in Kentucky, and is easily accessible by railways and bus lines. Its healthfulness is due to its elevation, its salubrious climate, and its abundant supply of pure water. Lexington is reputed for the refinement of its citi-

zens, the moral and Christian influence of its numerous churches, its historical associations, and its institutions of higher education. . . . The best macadam roads transverse in every direction a highly developed and charming rural community, noted throughout the world, as few other communities are, for its old homesteads and its refined people." No mention is made of Man of War, the horse farms, and the racing stables.

Boston offers culture. "Perhaps no other location in the country affords, within so short a distance, so many varied opportunities for culture," Sylvester can read in a bulletin. If he is of a literary turn of mind, he will be able to enjoy this culture in a location almost poetic in its description. The city in which Blank Seminary is located, "by virtue of its natural beauty and the character of its citizens, is regarded as one of the most attractive residential districts in our country. . . . The Hill (on which the Seminary is located) seems like a dais in the center of a vast amphitheatre. Whichever way one looks, there are far vistas; the rocks and rills, the woods and templed hills, of which Samuel F. Smith wrote in his well-known song while a student. . . . Even Mount Monadnock, seventy miles away in New Hampshire, is visible on clear days, as are Bunker Hill Monument and the dome of the State House to the east, and to the southeast the Old Colony country with massive Blue Hill on the distant horizon." Yet Harvard (as is true of most of the divinity schools in our large cities) merely mentions its location.

The schools which really capitalize on their locations are those near the large centres but not in the centre of the cities. They always make the most of all of the opportunities offered by a metropolitan centre but are careful to point out that on their respective campuses there is to be found sufficient seclusion and quiet which are necessary for study.

The lake, mountains, and squirrels may make their contributions, but the city school offsets such advantages by pointing out that "The four years spent in a liberal arts institution, with its more rigid academic disciplines, can afford only a limited or restricted contact with the church and with society and human needs. Moreover, this is especially true if the college or university is located in a small city. It is of great importance, therefore, for the student for the ministry to be thrown into contact with the busy life and activities of a great metropolitan centre with the complex ecclesiastical and sociological problems of the day. The advantages of first-hand information as to the work of the church in a great progressive cosmopolitan city like Greater Chicago, and of direct contact with the social and civic life of such a city, are of incalculable value to the candidate for the ministry."

Schools in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia neglect to mention the planetarium as an advantage in each city. This is not true of a seminary in Pittsburgh which describes in detail the Buhl Planetarium,

and complacently styles it "the finest and most up-to-date in the country."

As the student reads further, he can choose a school with a motto from, "A Preacher-Training Institute in a Preacher-Growing Atmosphere" to the really fine and dignified, "Seek the truth; come whence it may; cost what it will."

If Sylvester's counselors are wise, they will lead him to choose a school with an adequate library, but he will find little to help him evaluate the "heart of the seminary" in most catalogues. There are exceptions. Colgate-Rochester gives a description of some of its collections. But most schools list the number of volumes and pamphlets, give the amount of the endowment and the names of the benefactors, and let it go at that.

If in a catalogue the amount of space devoted to a given subject bears any relation to its importance in the life of a school, then Sylvester will assume that the faculty is of little value, for scarcely does any seminary do more than list its professors and their degrees. Some institutions do mention in a paragraph the importance of a good teaching staff. There are a few (very few) which include pictures of the men who guide the intellectual life of the school. Only one gives a service record of its men and tells in full their educational training, their experience and publications. In one bulletin the ability on the part of a man to hold an evangelistic service is given more space than his qualifications as an instructor. In fact, most schools allot more space to location than to faculty. One devotes eight pages to location and one to faculty; another seven and one-third pages to a doctrinal statement, three pages to degree requirements, one paragraph to the library, and one page to the faculty.

The most satisfactory section of many of the catalogues is that which deals with courses. How one wishes Sylvester would really take advantage of the best that is there offered in many of the schools, for he would be able, if he selects correctly, to enjoy those educational disciplines which really make a fine minister. If he has any ideas of the philosophy of education, he will find many excellent statements of the basic principles of curriculum. But he will have to examine the courses thoroughly and should have some expert guidance, since almost all schools claim they seek to examine all available data in fields bearing on theological study. However, terms such as "scientific research," "anthropology," and "archæology" can mean many things, as he will discover when he reads descriptions of courses. If he has any idea of anthropology in its accepted sense, he may be disappointed when he registers for "Anthropology" and finds it is divided in five divisions: "(a) the biblical doctrine of the creation of man; (b) the trichotomous nature of man; (c) the origin of man's body, soul, and spirit; (d) the fall; (e) sin, its character and penalty, and the doctrine of imputation." He will find many of the so-called scientific courses have the same aim as course 205 "Archæology: a study of the

archæological research in biblical lands with a view to the confirmation of the accuracy of the Scriptures."

And while he may not find much value in the division of a course which deals with "the entire revelation concerning the angels . . . in three divisions: (a) the Angel of Jehovah; (b) the unfallen angels, their ranks, titles, and ministries; (c) the fallen angels, including an extended examination of the doctrine of Satan," he will find some interesting and corking good studies. In addition to the good standard and basic courses he might (as I would) find a course of value in Bible methodology taught by a first-rate scholar, in which is considered how a minister can use the Bible effectively in his life and work; and the place, value, and relevancy of the Bible in his study. The various courses in great biographies—whether in the Bible, the history of the church, or in general literature—would be interesting. A number of schools are offering short, but valuable, courses in the Christian education of children, young people, and adults. One course which if taught effectively should greatly help our prospective student if he goes to a liberal school is "Theology of the Lay Mind," which is set up to answer the question in the minds of so many young ministers: "How can I deal with the problems and religious outlook of people having no theological training as I attempt to guide them in attempting to understand the Christian message?"

He will find more emphasis is being placed on practical, supervised field work. In one school, each student is required to teach for ten weeks in a weekday school of religious education. Some schools are requiring periods of internship, and one seminary requires "that each student shall demonstrate his ability to carry on successfully some type of religious leadership for a period of at least a year" before a degree is granted.

There will be some confusion in his mind as to his status as a theological student because in various institutions he will be looked upon as an undergraduate, a professional, or a graduate student, and he probably will not be aided much when he finds that he may receive from the same institution either a bachelor's degree or a master's degree in the same amount of time—and each degree is of the same value. "The Divinity School offers degrees on two levels, the B.D. or the Th.M., and the Th.D. Since the prevailing custom among seminaries of the Northern Baptist Convention is to offer the B.D., while Southern seminaries prevailingly offer the Th.M. on the same basis, the ——— ———, serving both Conventions, offers both degrees. These two degrees are on the same level and have the same academic standing. The Th.M. differs from the B.D. only in that it is preëminently the Bible degree, requiring a thorough course either in Greek or Hebrew."

Perhaps Sylvester is somewhat interested in the basic ethics of the institution he selects. Therefore, he will be interested in knowing of the

founding of a seminary and of the selecting of students and teachers. "Deeply concerned regarding the inroads of modern unbelief in the general field of higher education, and especially about the recent victory of a coalition of 'liberal,' worldly, and legalistic forces over an institution which they had been supporting, a number of Brethren pastors and laymen had come together in a private home for earnest prayer and Christian counsel. At this and succeeding meetings which attracted a fast growing number of interested persons, definitely conscious of the guidance and gracious provision of God," plans were formed for the establishing of a seminary. "Included in the new institution were all the teachers save one, and all the students except two, from the school which had been lost to liberal forces."

Along this same line, if the student is interested in going to a conservative or fundamentalist school, he will not have to read many catalogues to find some of his choice. But if he depends on the information based on definite statements, he will find but few schools which proclaim their liberal position. "Most graduates serve in the ministry of the liberal churches," and "This school is open as headquarters for religious liberals who are residents, visitors, or students in the San Francisco Bay area."

Apparently students are interested in the amount of fees and scholarships, for most schools devote much space to discussions of such subjects. Mr. S. A. Smith will find to his delight that tuition is free in most theological schools, that many scholarships are available, and that he will be given every opportunity to work. In fact, sometimes he will feel that he is almost being paid to select one school over another. This can do two things to him. If he is a young man of integrity, he will probably not pay too much attention to open solicitation on the basis of easy finances. However, if he lacks certain qualities, it is easy to see (if he has studied some of the school bulletins) why he might be led to ask, as I know one who did: "Just how much will your school offer me to come here?" If he does pose such a question, I hope he gets the answer the above-mentioned youth received: "We'll offer you the door. Get out!" One school must have had some such experience, for a student must sign this statement: "Do you understand and agree that all work done for the college is to be paid for in schooling only? And do you pledge your word of honor to make no other demands?"

The schools are silent on the problems of interracial education. Only one school has much to say about it, and that is an institution in the South.

There will be odd bits of information which may not contribute much to Sylvester's education, but which may be interesting to him if he has a sense of humor (and he'll need it if he reads too many bulletins). If he selects a certain school, he will be told, under what to bring:

1. Such clothing for work and for dress as you would need at home.

2. Mattress for a single bed.*

And then this footnote: *"As a mattress is a rather awkward thing to bring along, it is more convenient to secure it after arriving."

He will read under *Rules of Conduct, Item 5,* "Doors. The entrance doors to the seminary building shall be locked at 10 o'clock P.M., except when public meetings make it necessary to keep them open later. Students living in the seminary building may obtain keys from the office by depositing 50c. Anyone opening a door after it is locked is required to lock it again."

At another school, carrying a passkey is put in the category of vices, and a student must answer "carefully and truthfully" to the following: "Did you ever use tobacco? When did you quit? Do you understand that the possession and use of tobacco in any form, either on or off the college grounds; that pipes, cigarettes, passkeys, cards, guns, revolvers, profanity, vulgarity and everything else that is detrimental to a Christian are absolutely outlawed?"

Many schools intimate that they will give students protection against the adversities of the flames of hell in eternity, but only a school in western Pennsylvania mentions that it carries $300 worth of fire insurance on the personal property of each man while he is in seminary.

And someday Sylvester is going to graduate and he will become a loyal alumnus, a member of the "Seminary's greatest human asset." Apparently, judging from the publications, he will become one of the most important factors in the life of the school. In one catalogue of sixty-four pages, while only seven pages are devoted to courses and requirements, forty-five are concerned with students and alumni.

As he finishes reading he will be aware that by and large divinity schools of universities have catalogues with more pertinent information than independent seminaries. He will have learned that there is much uniformity and not too much originality in bulletins of the type of school in which he is interested. He will have an idea that it is easy for him to get his theological degree, at least financially. He may have read repeatedly about the necessity of signing a theological creed, but he will have learned surprisingly little about the moral obligations of a student to his alma mater for all that she contributes, and from the requirements for admission he will see that over and over again the necessity for thorough scholastic preparation will be far down on the list.

Sylvester may be in your church. If he is, he needs your guidance. I have met him countless times and I know how much he needs an interested friend to help him separate the essential from the nonessential and to insist that he examine thoroughly the many problems involved in theological education as he attempts to evaluate the various offerings of the seminaries from a reading of the catalogues, his necessary prelude to preaching.

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.
SEER AND PROPHET OF THE AMERICAN PIONEER

R. E. E. HARKNESS

Crozer Theological Seminary

No other land has been quite so prolific in the generation of Christian sects as has the United States of America. Not only have the older denominations become divided and subdivided but here, almost from the beginning of the colonial era, strange, if not bizarre, Christian forms have had their birth. Others, if not indigenous, have found in this virgin soil, far beyond the seas from their homeland, a rich fertility in which to sink their roots and attain robust maturity—though, true it is, many have died in their infancy and youth.

What curious sectarian divisions disturbed primitive New England! Gortonists, Sabbatarians, Six-Principle Baptists, Antinomians, Rogerines —to mention a few only. It was, however, in the latter period of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth that new forms of Christian organizations, peculiarly American, began to appear. They were usually coöperative in scheme and sometimes communistic. Beginning with the Shakers who settled in New York State about 1774 with Mother Ann Lee as leader, we may mention a few: the Rappite Community in Indiana, the Oneida Community in New York; the Brook Farm endeavor of New England Transcendentalists, the Separatists of Zoar, the Millerites, and the Mormons. All these are distinctly American though some of the ideas inculcated in these more or less fantastic schemes, and indeed some of the leaders also, came from abroad.

It is to be noted, moreover, that all these efforts of people to master their environment, to escape the drudgery and grueling toil of existence, to establish the New Jerusalem on earth, occur in the North. There is little or no example of this in the Southland. This will require our attention later. It comes as something of a surprise to realize that in the early days of our national life, up to the middle of the last century, the great revivals with their emotional fanaticisms, sweeping as fierce fires over the land, and these peculiar outbursts of millennial hopes and apocalyptic dreams, are to be found in the northern states, rather than in those below the Mason and Dixon line. The farthest south into which they spread was Kentucky and Tennessee, in the Second Great Awakening at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Reasons for this, with a partial explanation at least, must await our further consideration. One of the strangest, and least understood in its

origin, the most written and talked about, the most dreaded, feared, and damned, yet the most permanent of all, I wish to discuss—the Mormons.

Let us listen first of all to the story of their beginnings as told by Joseph Smith, Jr., himself, the founder of the group. According to his own statements he was born on December 23, 1805, the third child of a family of nine, of Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith. In his tenth year the family moved from the original home, Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, to Palmyra, Ontario County, now Wayne County, New York State. Four years later another move was made, this time to Manchester in the same county.

Some time in the second year after this change of residence, when Joseph was a little over fourteen years of age, there was a great revival in that section, or, as Joseph says, "an unusual excitement on the subject of religion." Still quoting directly the words of the Prophet, we have an insight into the feverish state of mind of that frontier society, and of the mental and spiritual confusion of the writer.

5. . . . It commenced with the Methodists [he says] but soon became general among all the sects in that region of country. Indeed, the whole district of country seemed affected by it, and great multitudes united themselves to the different religious parties, which created no small stir and division amongst the people, some crying, "Lo, here!" and others, "Lo, there!" Some were contending for the Methodist faith, some for the Presbyterian, and some for the Baptist.[1]

6. For notwithstanding the great love which the converts to these different faiths expressed at the time of their conversion, and the great zeal manifested by the respective clergy, who were active in getting up and promoting this extraordinary scene of religious feeling, in order to have everybody converted, as they were pleased to call it, let them join what sect they pleased—yet when the converts began to file off, some to one party and some to another, it was seen that the seemingly good feelings of both the priests and the converts were more pretended than real; for a scene of great confusion and bad feeling ensued; priest contending against priest, and convert against convert; so that all their good feelings one for another, if they ever had any, were entirely lost in a strife of words and a contest about opinions.

7. I was at this time in my fifteenth year. My father's family was proselyted to the Presbyterian faith, and four of them joined that church, namely—my mother Lucy; my brothers Hyrum and Samuel Harrison; and my sister Sophronia.

8. During this time of great excitement, my mind was called up to serious reflection and great uneasiness; but though my feelings were deep and often poignant, still I kept myself aloof from all these parties, though I attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit. In process of time my mind became somewhat partial to the Methodist sect, and I felt some desire to be united with them; but so great were the confusion and strife among the different denominations, that it was impossible for a person young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right and who was wrong.

9. My mind at times was greatly excited, the cry and tumult were so great

[1] It is to be noted that Smith wrote always not alone in biblical phrases but also in biblical verse form.

and incessant. The Presbyterians were most decided against the Baptists and Methodists, and used all the powers of either reason or sophistry to prove their errors, or, at least, to make the people think they were in error. On the other hand, the Baptists and Methodists in their turn were equally zealous in endeavoring to establish their own tenets and disprove all others.

10. In the midst of this war of words and tumult of opinions, I often said to myself, What is to be done? Who of all these parties are right; or, are they all wrong together? If any one of them be right, which is it, and how shall I know it?

In his extreme perplexity Joseph turned to Scripture, and in the Epistle of James he read: "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." Obeying these instructions of James, and receiving no aid from the opposing sectarians, who, as Joseph says, "understood the same passages of scripture so differently as to destroy all confidence in settling the question by an appeal to the Bible," he retired to the woods, "one morning of a clear day, early in the Spring of 1820," to seek of God the great gift —it being the first time in his life he had ever prayed.

Then occurred the first of Joseph's many visions and revelations. It is well to let him again tell the story in his own words. Scarcely had he kneeled down, he tells us,

15. . . . when immediately I was seized upon by some power which entirely overcame me, and had such an astonishing influence over me as to bind my tongue so that I could not speak. Thick darkness gathered around me, and it seemed to me for a time as if I were doomed to sudden destruction.

16. But, exerting all my powers to call upon God to deliver me out of the power of this enemy which had seized upon me, and at the very moment when I was ready to sink into despair and abandon myself to destruction—not to an imaginary ruin, but to the power of some actual being from the unseen world, who had such marvelous power as I had never before felt in any being—just at this moment of great alarm, I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me.

17. It no sooner appeared than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me I saw two personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name, and said, pointing to the other—*This is my beloved Son, hear him!*

18. My object in going to inquire of the Lord was to know which of all the sects was right, that I might know which to join. No sooner, therefore, did I get possession of myself, so as to be able to speak, than I asked the personages who stood above me in the light, which of all the sects was right—and which I should join.

19. I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong; and the personage who addressed me said that all their creeds were an abomination in his sight; that those professors were all corrupt; that "they draw near to me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; they teach for doctrines the commandments of men, having a form of godliness, but they deny the power thereof."

20. He again forbade me to join with any of them; and many other things

did he say unto me, which I cannot write at this time. When I came to myself again, I found myself lying on my back, looking up into heaven."

A few days after the vision, according to the narrative, the boy was talking to a Methodist minister who had been most active in the revivals. Joseph told him about the vision only to be astonished and astounded by the preacher treating the communication "not only lightly, but with great contempt, saying it was all of the devil, that there were no such things as visions and revelations in these days, that all such things had ceased with the apostles, and that there would never be any more of them."

Joseph found, however, that the telling of his story to this one minister of the gospel had wrought considerable prejudice against him among the professors of religion. He could not understand why such an obscure boy, of no circumstances, should stir up men of high standing to rouse the public mind against him and create a bitter persecution—in fact, all sects uniting to attack and persecute him.

He informs us that he felt very much as Paul had, who had been persecuted for declaring he had seen a vision and had heard a voice speak to him. Nevertheless, even as Paul, he held steadfast to the revelation though he might suffer death therefor. Then in his naïveté, Joseph grants us a glimpse into his experiences which helps us greatly to understand his religious development. He tells us that he continued to pursue his common vocations until September 21, 1823—over three years later. But during this period, persecuted by religious and irreligious alike, scorned by those who should have been his friends and who should have counseled him if he were wrong, he fell into many temptations—"mingling with all kinds of society—offensive in the sight of God."

In his better moments he regretted this folly and so on the night of this September 21, 1823, upon retiring he betook himself to prayer and supplication to Almighty God for forgiveness of all his sins and foibles and—let us mark this—"also for a manifestation to me, that I might know of my state and standing before him; for I had full confidence in obtaining a divine manifestation, as I previously had one."

Well, it came about as he had hoped. While he was calling upon the name of the Lord, a light appeared in the room, increasing to midday brightness, in the midst of which a personage appeared, "standing in the air, for his feet did not touch the floor." He was dressed in "a loose robe of exquisite whiteness" beyond anything earthly Joseph had ever seen. He states clearly (why is not so clear) that this robe was all the personage had on him, for he "could see into his bosom." He called Joseph by name, told him that he himself was a messenger from God, and that his name was Moroni. (It is well to preserve the last letter in the name.) That God had work for Joseph to do and that his name "should be had for good and evil among all nations, kindred, and tongues." He then told him

about the book of gold plates, "containing the fulness of the everlasting gospel," buried at a hill near by. With the plate were the Urim and Thummim on a breastplate by which the gold plates could be translated. He was commanded by the heavenly visitant that when he obtained the plates—the time was not yet fulfilled for him to do so—he must not show them to any one or he would be destroyed. (Again note how this shrewd Yankee protects himself.) The messenger then quoted scripture to prove that the "fulness of the Gentiles was soon to come in." But most interestingly, Joseph tells us that the visitor did not quote all the passages as they appear in our authorized version. But though he states that the angel repeated a considerable portion of the Bible only three verses were changed. It is significant to notice these. They are from the fourth chapter of Malachi. Says Smith:

> 36. . . . Instead of quoting the first verse as it reads in our books, he quoted it thus:
>
> 37. For behold, the day cometh that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall burn as stubble; for they that come shall burn them, saith the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.
>
> 38. And again he quoted the fifth verse thus: Behold I shall reveal unto you the Priesthood, by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord.
>
> 39. He quoted the next verse differently: And he shall plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers, and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers; and if it were not so, the whole earth would be utterly wasted at his coming.

The visitor then ascended through "a conduit open right up into heaven" and disappeared. But, as the young man lay musing on his bed, he appeared the second time relating exactly the same things as before but adding that "great judgments were coming upon the earth, with great desolations by famine, sword, and pestilence, and that these grievous judgments would come on the earth in this generation." For once the divine revealer was wrong. He again disappeared into heaven only to return the third time, repeating once more his former statements but adding a caution, "telling me that Satan would try to tempt me (in consequence of the indigent circumstances of my father's family), to get the plates for the purpose of getting rich. This he forbade me, saying that I must have no other object in view in getting the plates but to glorify God, and must not be influenced by any other motive than that of building His kingdom; otherwise I could not get them." This final warning is worthy of notice in the light of accusations made against Smith by many of his neighbors in Manchester.

The following day, while working in the fields with his father, he found his strength so exhausted that he could accomplish little. His father, aware that something was wrong, suggested he should return home to rest.

As he was attempting to cross the fence to the house, his strength utterly failed and he fell helpless to the ground. How long he lay there he did not know, but he heard a voice speaking to him, calling him by name. Looking up he saw the selfsame messenger of the preceding night, who related to him the identical message and then commanded him to tell his father everything. This he did, and his father asserted it was all of God and that he should obey the messenger. He went at once to the place he had seen in his vision and discovered the stone box containing the plates. It had a rounded top like an old-fashioned trunk so that though the top edges were buried in a few inches of earth the upper curve was visible. Obtaining a lever he pried the box from the earth, opened it, and was about to take the plates and the Urim and Thummim from within when the angel forbade him, declaring they were not to be taken away until the lapse of four years, that is, until 1827, but that he was to come to this spot, at precisely this date each year, and the messenger would meet him there. (This revelation should also be borne in mind.) He obeyed these commandments, and each year the angel gave him instructions respecting what the Lord was going to do, and how and in what manner his kingdom was to be conducted in these last days.

All this was in 1823. Over a year passed, concerning which we have no information from the pen of the Prophet. In October, 1825, Joseph went to work for a Mr. Josiah Stoal in Chenango County, New York State. This old gentleman, according to Joseph, had heard about an old Spanish silver mine near Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. He took Smith and "the rest of his hands" down to this area to dig for the mine. Not meeting with success, Joseph tells us, he prevailed on his employer to give up the foolish attempt. "Hence," says the writer gravely, "arose the very prevalent story of my having been a money-digger." We shall also keep this statement in mind for future reference.

The Prophet while in Pennsylvania boarded in the home of a Mr. Isaac Hale. He fell in love with the daughter, Emma, but the family opposed the marriage because of Joseph's claim to having had visions and also because of the ensuing persecutions. The two eloped and were married, January 18, 1827, in Chenango County, New York.

On the twenty-second of September, of this year, the final date for his visit to the Hill, and the fulfillment of the time for the delivery of the plates, he again went to the sacred spot and was met by the messenger who gave him the plates. But he charged him once more to guard them securely or he "should be cut off." He soon found out why the angel was so insistent on this, for, no sooner, he says, was it noised abroad that he had the plates than the most strenuous efforts were made to get them from him. Every stratagem that could be invented was resorted to. The

persecution became even more bitter and severe. However, God protected him, and the plates were kept safe until they were transcribed and returned to the messenger who has them "until this day," says Smith, the second day of May, 1838.

The opposition became so intense that Smith and his wife felt it necessary to return to her father's home in Pennsylvania, a Mr. Harris, a respectable farmer in the neighborhood, giving him $50 which enabled him to make the trip. This Mr. Harris will appear again in the story. Almost immediately upon his arrival at the old home in Pennsylvania, December, 1827, he began to copy the characters from the plates and by means of the Urim and Thummim to translate them. In February, 1828, Harris visited him in Pennsylvania and took some of the characters with the translations to a Professor Charles Anthon in New York City for his opinions concerning them. Smith here quotes Harris as saying that Professor Anthon declared the characters were Egyptian, Chaldaic, Assyriac, and Arabic and that the translations were perfectly correct—more so, indeed, "than any he had before seen translated from the Egyptian." Anthon gave Harris a certificate to this effect to close the mouths of the skeptical neighbors. But, says Harris, as he was about to leave the house the professor called him back, asking him how Smith found out about the plates. Harris told him that God had revealed them to Smith in a vision. Then, says Harris, the professor said, "Let me see that certificate." When he handed it back to him, Anthon tore it up, saying there was now no such thing as ministering angels. That definitely and successfully disposes of the necessity of providing proof of the professor's first guarantee of authenticity. But of this we shall also speak later.

On April 5, 1829, Oliver Cowdery, from the old home in New York State, visited Smith in Pennsylvania. Cowdery was a schoolteacher and, having heard from Joseph's father about the plates, he came down to learn more about them. Joseph put this scholar to work, copying the story as the seer translated the *Book of Mormon* from the plates. This was done by Smith, sitting at one end of the table with a curtain between him and his amenuensis who sat at the other end but could not see the plates. In May, 1829, these two men went into the woods to pray and inquire of the Lord respecting the doctrine of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins. As they were so engaged, a messenger, who was no other than John the Baptist, acting under the direction of Peter, James, and John, came from heaven in a cloud of light, laid his hands upon them, and ordained them, saying: "Upon you, my fellow servants, in the name of Messiah, I confer the Priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministering of angels, and the gospel of repentance, and of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; and this shall never be taken again

from the earth, until the sons of Levi do offer again an offering unto the Lord in righteousness." (We note here the reference to remission of sins.)

This "Aaronic Priesthood," we are told, had not the power of laying on hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, but this would be conferred on them when they had baptized one another as commanded. Undergoing this rite, Smith was to become the first elder of the church and Cowdery the second. Smith baptized Cowdery and then was baptized by him.

No sooner had they baptized each other than the Holy Spirit *did* come upon them, and they prophesied in the presence of each other concerning things that were shortly to come to pass. Their minds were also enlightened to understand many of the mysterious passages of Scripture. However, they were forced to keep secret this gift of the "Priesthood" for fear of further persecution which still threatened them. In fact, they were saved from the mobs only under Divine Providence by the good influence of his father-in-law's family, who, Smith naïvely informs us, "were opposed to mobs."

So, evidently, the foundations of the new church were laid.

To reconstruct the activities of the next few years is most difficult. The entire story is indefinite and uncertain. However, the translation was finished in due time and the benevolent, if credulous, Brother Harris paid for the printing. Then in 1830 we find Smith back in the old neighborhood in New York where on Tuesday, April 6, of that year, the Mormon church was organized in the home of Peter Whitmer, a Pennsylvania Dutchman. Six men, no women, were the constituent members—Joseph Smith, Sr., Joseph, Jr., his two brothers, Hyrum and Samuel, Oliver Cowdery, and Joseph Knight.

From this date on we shall cover the history swiftly, since the origins are of our main interest.

The church was not well received in its original home. Was that due to the fact that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country or to the fact that the Smiths, and perhaps Joseph, Jr., especially, had a most unsavory reputation in that area? Whatever the answer, the church lost most of its members and a few moved to Kirtland, Ohio, in January, 1831, where a communistic organization was established. Soon the leaders found themselves in disrepute here, their bank failed, and they were forced to flee. Already certain of their number, following the vast migration to Missouri, after the Compromise of 1820, had gone to that new land where a settlement was formed, which, however, soon found itself in difficulties with the State government. In January, 1838, Kirtland was forsaken, and the new Zion in Missouri became the adopted home.

Smith arrived in Missouri none too soon. The church suffered disruptions from within. Certain of the leaders, including Cowdery and

Whitmer, were accused of serious crimes and fled for safety. Smith received many revelations which enabled him to deal swiftly and harshly with all offenders. A secret group, called the Danites, was organized which acted somewhat as the Ku Klux Klan, quietly disposing of obstreperous members—a most helpful band later in the career of Brigham Young.

Great difficulties, however, awaited Smith. He was forced at once to enter into the conflict between his people and the State. Armed rebellion ensued, for which Smith was, in part at least, responsible. After many harrowing experiences most of the membership arrived in Illinois in April, 1839, the leaders having suffered arrest and imprisonment.

By means of additional revelations Smith obtained consent of his followers to purchase new lands, and in April, 1840, they established the town of Nauvoo, meaning in the Hebrew, according to Joseph, "a beautiful place." At first the Mormons were welcomed in Illinois because of their voting power. Later, their internal disorders, the proclamation of polygamy, and the autocracy of Smith in resisting the laws of the State, aroused opposition to them. On June 27, 1844, while in prison Joseph and his brother Hyrum were shot to death. Under the direction of Brigham Young the persecuted group set out for the Far West, finally arriving in Utah where settlement was made.

Let us now turn our critical attention to this story.

Consider the family, first of all. Joseph tells us they were indigent; that he and Emma had to borrow $50 to take the trip to Pennsylvania. This seems a frank statement of an honest, guileless man. In fact he is guilty of a gross crime of understatement. There is extant a vast array of affidavits to the effect that the Smiths, one and all, were a lazy, indolent, ne'er-do-well group, not above appropriating property to which they themselves had no title. A shiftless lot, they moved about from place to place, eking out a mere existence—keeping whatever might fall into their hands but seldom keeping the truth.

Joseph reports he went with his employer, a Mr. Stoal, to Pennsylvania to dig for a silver mine. The fact of the matter is, this uncultured, superstitious, credulous youth found a peculiar white stone, quartz undoubtedly, his "peek-stone," through which he claimed he could see otherwise invisible objects, detecting hidden riches in the earth: money, mines, or other treasures. Placing this stone in his hat and putting it over his face, he declared he could see marvels and wonders.

It was a mysterious, spooky sort of time and place in which he lived—New York State, home of Rip van Winkle and Ichabod Crane, though Ontario and Wayne Counties were much farther west than the habitat of these two worthies. But it was the territory of the early Indians, on which fierce French and Indian wars had been fought, and Indian legends and

relics abounded. This northwest section of the state on the shores of the lake, near present Rochester, was still pioneer in Joseph's day. Heavy forests were to be felled for farm lands. Life was precarious, denying, lacking rewards of intellectual enjoyments and the gay laughter of unfettered minds and souls.

Consequently, religious revivals were numerous, the effort of people to find release and mastery. It was known as the Burnt District, over which swept recurrently the fierce fires of revival passion. Joseph in his autobiography gives us a simple but precise picture of them. It should be noted, however, that whereas he says he was commanded not to join one of these warring sects, his father in one of his statements says that "soon after joining the church he [Joseph] had a peculiar dream."

Consider these so-called visions of Joseph, Jr. The first was in the spring of 1820 when he was fourteen years of age, and when he was so troubled about his soul during an emotional revival. Then he had three in one night, September, 1823, and on the following day, one in the field with his father. These are all according to his autobiography. But elsewhere he, and his father and mother, tell of others. He had one at each annual visit to the Hill where the plates were buried. In her *Biographical Sketches* of Joseph (published in 1853), his mother wrote that one day Joseph went to market with produce. He was over three hours late arriving home—nine o'clock rather than six. He was pale and exhausted. But she adds, "We always had a peculiar anxiety about him when he was absent"; and again, "The fact was I had learned to be a little cautious about matters with regard to Joseph." When he had rested a little, the young man reported that he "had taken the severest chastisement he had ever had in his life." As he was passing the Hill of Cumorah on his way home, the angel of the Lord met him and had beaten him. This was in January, 1827, shortly after his marriage.

What are the explanations of these visions? Epileptic fits![2] Everything Joseph reports about his experiences, all his father and mother have to say, reveal symptoms of this malady. The bright light shining, the angelic spirit, the bruised body, a twisted thumb, physical exhaustion—all these are telltale indications. Note again: Joseph himself testifies that following his revival experiences he fell into temptations and evil ways. He got drunk—as he himself might say. Boy and man, he was a notorious drinker. Even Martin Harris, his financial supporter, declared that Joseph drank too much liquor while translating the *Book of Mormon*. Charles Thompson, a Mormon, in his book proving the truth of Mormonism, admitted that the Prophet drank and was quarrelsome when intoxicated.

Thus we have as evidence of epilepsy, the emotionalism of the religious

[2] I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism*, New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1902.

revivals, and alcoholism which is considered one of the chief causes provocative of those seizures, afflicting the boy. But beyond these is the fact that his maternal grandfather, Solomon Mack, suffered from similar attacks. In his own narrative he tells us of twice having been seized with a fit. He, too, had his visions; the bright lights appeared, and he heard voices. Nor did the phenomenon pass by one generation; Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph's mother, in her *Biographical Sketches,* has many stories of her own peculiar experiences of revelations and divine appearances. Even his father dreamed dreams and had their marvels published.

What now of the messenger who appeared so often to Joseph? This personage was raised to the dignity of a heavenly visitor in the later writings of Joseph, not in the original records. According to sworn statements of relatives of Joseph's father-in-law, the first story related that the person "appeared like a Spaniard, having a long beard down over his breast, with his throat cut from ear to ear and the blood streaming down. . . ." When the Mormon Bible was published, Joseph's own father said that "A very large, tall man had appeared to him [Joseph, Jr.] dressed in an ancient suit of clothes, and the clothes were bloody," and told him about the buried treasure. The father continued that when Joseph went to lift the plates "a host of devils began to screech and to scream, and make all sorts of hideous yells; for the purpose of terrifying him and preventing the attainment of his object." Joseph, however, persisted and returned to the wagon with his precious burden when "the devils, with more hideous yells than before, followed him to the fence." As he was climbing over it one devil hit him a terrific blow on the side which remained black and blue for many days.

Did Joseph ever find or possess any plates? Certainly not. He had his peek-stone. And in the earliest stories the peek-stone was sufficient to locate the hidden plates, an angel messenger not being necessary. He believed in it and his contemporaries believed in it. It was the day when Indian legends were freely recounted and gladly though fearfully accepted. A superstitious, supernatural age! One of Joseph's boyhood pals declares that one day Joe called to see him, evidently enjoying a joke. He reported that passing through the woods after a rain, he saw some beautiful white sand, which he wrapped in his frock and carried home. The family were at dinner and asked him what he had in the frock. Mischievously and mysteriously Joseph answered he had found a golden Bible. When they wanted to see it, he continued his mystery, telling them no man could look upon it and live. He was astonished to find they believed him; so he determined to carry out the hoax. "Now," he concluded, "I have got the d—— fools fixed and will carry out the fun." It was a practical joke on the part of a quick-witted youngster who later saw its possibilities among

superstitious, mystery-loving folk, and he, and his family, too, determined to make the most of it.

As we have noticed, Joseph says he was warned that he must not yield to the temptation "to get the plates for the purpose of getting rich." This written in 1838 is after the fact. His mother had told the neighbors that the plates were to be publicly exhibited—admission twenty-five cents. The book would sell for a great price. Soon they would have plenty of money. The father boasted that the proceeds of the sale would place his family "on a level above the generality of mankind." And at the time, 1827, there was no indication that it was a religious book but one of Indian records only.

How did this book get started? Joseph did have these tragic experiences, the so-called visions. He did not understand them, nor did his family or neighbors. But they served to give him a sort of awesome significance. Let us remember that though he had a revelation of them in 1823 he was forbidden to seek their possession until 1827. What happened in the interval? He had gone down to Pennsylvania near Pittsburgh, had returned to New York—a married man. Getting possession of the treasure, he returned to Pennsylvania and began the translation. His father-in-law swears there were no plates whatever. A seeming explanation lies in the fact that Solomon Spaulding, a minister, had written a book entitled, *The Manuscript Found*, purporting to be the story of finding a manuscript giving a history of the American Indians as the lost ten tribes. Spaulding's story was never published, though he had taken it to Mr. Patterson, a printer in Pittsburgh. Now enters the real genius of Mormonism. Sidney Rigdon was a frontier preacher who passed freely from the fold of one denomination to another. Methodist, Baptist, Disciple, free lance. He was pastor of the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh for some years following 1821. Later he became a Disciple, having churches in Ohio. He was a friend of Patterson, the printer in Pittsburgh. Did he know Smith while the latter was in that area and did he bring the Spaulding manuscript to his attention? This may never be proved; yet there is a peculiar similarity between the *Book of Mormon* and the *Manuscript*.

Whatever may be said in this respect, we cannot fathom the depths of Mormon sources without reckoning with Sidney Rigdon. It was to his church in Kirtland, Ohio, that Joseph and his few disciples fled when they left Manchester and Palmyra, New York. The ground was already prepared for the community order in Kirtland. Rigdon had quarreled with Alexander Campbell, founder of the Disciples, over communism—the former wanting to practise it. Rigdon wrote the *Book of Mormon* or rewrote it. It is he who raised the devils and the old bloody Spaniard to the dignity of heavenly messengers. It was he who made the *Book* a

religious story. We remember that according to Joseph, he and Cowdery went into the woods in their perplexity to pray about this doctrine of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins. Little wonder he did! He was a Methodist, not a Disciple, but Rigdon imposed upon them this Campbellite doctrine of which the *Book of Mormon* contains many evidences. Rigdon, upon revelations of Joseph, brought out a new translation of the King James Version. Genesis 50 has twenty-six verses—ending "So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old; and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt." Rigdon gives the chapter thirty-eight verses (twelve more) promising a seer, "and that seer will bless . . . and his name shall be called Joseph," (*i.e.,* Joseph Smith).

Isaiah 29 in the Authorized has twenty-four verses. Rigdon adds eight—a total of thirty-two. These additional ones prophesy that a book, sealed and hidden, shall be delivered in God's good time to his own chosen one who shall teach his people. Rigdon made Mormonism intelligent, sane—insofar as it is sane. He became so active in its affairs that Joseph had to have many revelations to keep him in subjection, and Joseph was the dominating and dominant personality. Yet to his dying day he relied completely on Rigdon. Moreover, Rigdon claimed the headship at Joseph's death, only to be supplanted by Brigham Young—a physical giant, younger in years and, as Smith, endowed with the qualities of leadership.

What does this *Book* teach? According to Smith the plates contained ancient characters which could be deciphered only by means of the Urim and Thummim. Here again it may be noted that it was Rigdon who transformed the lowly "peek-stone" to the more euphonious and sacred Urim and Thummim. A page of these characters (spelled *Caractors* by Smith) is still extant.[3] They are most interesting, to say the least. Studying them, one feels they represent a fascinating game of an imaginative boy playing with mysterious signs with which he is familiar—Hebrew characters from the Bible, astronomical signs in the farmer's almanac, reproductions of Indian sign language.

Smith reports, as we have seen, that Harris took samples of these characters and their translation to Professor Anthon of New York City, who, however, recalled his certificate of their authenticity when he learned about the angels. Anthon, on February 17, 1834, and again on April 3, 1841, published letters in the New York *Independent,* and the *Church Record,* asserting that this claim of Smith was "perfectly false," that he told Harris the whole thing was unmitigated nonsense, and that shrewd rogues were trying to rob him of his money.

The *Book* purports to be the story of the origin of the American Indians and how they arrived on these two continents. As a matter of fact, in

[3] Riley, *op. cit.,* p. 81.

many instances it mirrors the experiences of Joseph and his people in the pioneer State of New York. Some stories, indeed, parallel precisely the dreams of Joseph, Sr., as published in his book. One writer, in his ecstasy of expository effusion of the *Book*, reveals that according to the ancient prophet, Mormon, God loved and blessed America above all other lands. Here the Garden of Eden was planted. In this land Adam and Eve dwelt. Here Cain slew Abel. It was here that Enoch lived, that Noah preached to the ungodly, that the ark was built, which, wafted by winds and waves, was carried far away until it rested on Mt. Ararat. Then for some time America was without inhabitants.

However, and here all other expositions begin, when the Tower of Babel was destroyed and the people were scattered, God took some—"a few, better than others"—to America, the Jaredites. Here they dwelt for centuries. About 600 B.C. others came, Nephites and Lamanites. Some were good, some bad. They fought and nearly destroyed one another. The surviving remnant constitutes the red men of America. One of their last prophets was commanded to write their history. This he did, giving the plates to his son, Mormon, a mere child, who made an abridged copy of them, bringing the story down to his own day, about A.D. 400. At his death they passed into the hands of his son, Moroni, who closed the records. Some say that Mormon hid the plates in the Hill of Cumorah, some that Moroni did. All this, by its own internal evidence, was "translated" by Joseph Smith. But the foolish young man on the title page of his first edition had his name printed as author and proprietor.

How could anyone believe in this, accept of it, or be in any way influenced by it? What had Mormonism to offer to people so as to win their allegiance?

First, Mormonism did not deny the Bible. Rather it exalted it, gave it an up-to-date interpretation. It has been noticed that Smith writes and speaks always in biblical language. Christ appeared in America after his resurrection, taught and organized the church, though later it was destroyed. The *Book* is full of Old Testament prophecies made to refer to the America of the early nineteenth century. There are numerous anachronisms, of course. There are, for instance, references to swords of steel and the compass. Cows, horses, asses, sheep, swine are indigenous to America. Its theology is the theology of Calvin. But it is a fulfillment of prophecy—and to the people of the day, overburdened, distraught, superstitious, awed by the mysterious, it made its appeal. Nor can we forget that Smith was a keen judge of men and of their hopes and wishes if not their needs. He could always be depended upon to come forth with a revelation when it was most effective and these, with his or Rigdon's expositions and covenants, carried the day.

Perhaps the finest illustration of this has to do with polygamy—given in Nauvoo, Illinois, under date of 1843. Many men had suffered death; some had apostatized. Women were in the majority. Smith and Rigdon published a revelation.

First, there are three degrees or states in heaven. To reach the highest, one must have experienced spiritual marriage. Then Abraham and all the Hebrew worthies are justified in having practiced polygamy. Following comes the fearful threat of punishment for murder. (Any man might whip out his six-shooter should his wife or daughter be stolen by another.) The revelation continues, that a wife is not to be taken by any man from her husband, but that he may choose many virgins. Finally the revelation takes care of Emma Smith, Joseph's wife; and she is told by the Lord Almighty that she must agree—or else!

Here let us say that the *Book of Mormon* has little value for Mormons today. It is the expositions of the book, the later teachings, which have. Which, perhaps, is always the case with religious literature.

What did Mormonism offer in order to win people to its fold? Frankly one does wonder. All that was first proclaimed is this: "A great and marvellous work is about to come forth among the children of men." And perchance that was sufficient. The kingdom of God is at hand! Behold, the bridegroom cometh! The yearning, eager hearts of men, denied, cruelly deprived so many times, still hopeful and assured. In practice it offered coöperation and communism. People, who could not singly master that rough, harsh frontier, working together might do so. They almost failed, but the anger and ugliness of their fellows, by murder and martyrdom, saved them. Did the clash of theological inconsequentials among revival leaders help? Ministers more concerned with hairsplitting than with people!

The South did not know them nor their kind. For the Southland is more fertile, more easily cultivated, more kindly to her children. Great plantations could be taken up, and man had not to fight so strenuously against nature. In the North he had to. Moreover in the North there was the heritage of the Puritan theocracy—always communistic, at least a community order. In fact, theocracy is communistic in religion and politics—uniformity and conformity enforced—though individualistic in economics, business, and property rights. The New Englander moving West out of the old community order—town church and town meeting—was lost. He tried in so many ways to recreate these according to his need on the frontier of the expanding prairies. The Mormon, in that search, became communistic in all three—religion, politics, economics.

Strong, robust, capable, victorious people—those Mormons. A great state—Utah—made to blossom as a rose.

A PARADOX OF FREEDOMS

JOHN CHILTON SCAMMELL

Boston University

THOUSANDS of brainy lads, all in uniform, all in classrooms for hours beyond university prescription; hundreds of instructors, none in uniform, but also all in classrooms for hours beyond university prescription.

The Army Specialized Training Program thus set aside the principle of meditative, absorptive pursuit of learning. Military exigency forbade freedoms long since established by considered experience—the Academy, the Stoa, the *Sic et Non* of Abelard, the day by day challenge of all comers heckling the quadrivium's candidate as he strove to uphold his thesis against all dialectic attack; the bull sessions and the seminars, the inspection of bibliographies and the quests for new approaches and fresh modes of investigation, the brilliant projects of laboratories, the lecturer's rousing depiction of scene upon scene of intellectual achievement—these and their glory, with Ichabod's, were departed.

Grind, cram, sweat, despair, stumble blindly on—instructor all too aware that neither time nor space nor frame of mind could permit a moment's leisure, but that the whole treatment of his subject must be revised day by day to accord with the dual demands of military directives of the course of study and the intellectual conditions of his trainees.

Grind, cram, stumble, sweat, and despair—trainees (not students—not scholars—just material to be shaped in essential skills, factory hands, laborers for the victory of blood and guts) . . . trainees trooping from class to class, with a scant ten minutes for a cup of coffee, a glass of milk, a glance at a page of problems, and then at it again, shifting from theme to theme and mystery to mystery; doggedly advancing though all too doubtfully.

What principle, if any, actuates this crude retreat from scholarly ways of attaining both knowledge and enlightenment? Is there any principle other than the desperate need of freedom's crisis? That need has been demonstrated in deeds and words of such bestial horror that rhetoric and eloquence fail—and no Ezekiel or Jeremiah or Isaiah has arisen as yet with words of live coals from the altar or of dead men's bones in the valley.

Oh, the need, the ghastly exigency, is manifest; but has this specialized training revealed a principle, good or otherwise, that may direct

Oh, the need, the ghastly exigency, is manifest; but has this special-standards without any gain? Surely not; this mere opposition or interference tests his principles, and, further still, tests him and the whole system of which he is a part. Can he individually stand up against

the pressure of this phase of the ruthlessness that has been forced upon him; can the whole system survive? Doubtless he and the whole scholarly principle can, especially as the trend of the war is clearly in his favor. But the actual, dynamic question is, of course, whether (a) the intensive program is no more than a necessity of the moment, incoherent or chaotic except for immediate needs, or whether (b) it is the expression of a mode of study and achievement that can serve constructively, advance the tempo of education, indicate means of saving time, energy, and even morale.

If the latter alternative should evince any signs of truth, then a principle of some kind is present.

Alarming, that thought! When principle is opposed to principle, the situation has that tragic quality of good opposed to good, with resultant destruction—even if no catastrophe occurs, nonetheless the dialectic of the conflict produces change, if not by shock then by interpenetration of those forces and a shift to a new balance and a new trend.

Let us at once dismiss the implied suggestion that cramming can be tolerated; let it be admitted that if we had not shared in the blindness and apathy of Britain and France and the rest of the democracies we would have seen to it that such basic skills and studies as mathematics, physics and chemistry, psychology of groups, economics, geographics, and, above all, realistic history would have been organized and imparted in direct if not even harshly practical terms. Had we but seen, we would have prepared, would have taken our place as a people aware of *Realpolitik,* and would have been formidable in appearance as we are in temper. But we took the role of Epimetheus, neither protagonist nor antagonist.

All that is past, milk that's spilt; let us dry those tears and attend to the prevention of further negligences.

It is not in the cramming but in certain by-products of that intensive program that a principle appears at least hypothetical. Partly in spite of the grind and sweat and doubt and confusion, and partly because of them, actualities subsistent in those circumstances made themselves felt.

First of all, both in the order of time and in that of importance, both instructors and trainees kept doggedly at the task. They were going too fast—yes, yes! Explanation, discussion, objection, reflection, variety of approach and likewise of method were all set aside. True, very very true! The adjustment of instructor to these men, so often drafted from factory, garage, store, farm, or forest, rather than from college or school—that adjustment of instructor to such a congeries, even though tested for intellect and alertness, was enough to daunt any but the rarest of inspired teachers. To meet section after section of men who had forgotten the use of textbooks—yet evidently with good minds—to be loaded with hours and hours of classes in subjects in one's field but off in a corner where no

practical cultivation has been done since great-grandfather's time, and then only by rule of thumb and phases of the moon. . . .

In other words, to find the pressure of tomorrow's assignment, its preparation for the unschooled as well as the schooled (yet both types with thoroughly alert minds if one lagged for a moment), the need for far more elucidation—what did it all come to, when one takes stock of the predicament?

To this: a loss of particular freedoms because of lack of time and because of the trainees' lack of direct continuity from previous study in the field. And these that follow are some of the freedoms, not privileges but rights without which scholarly methods are nullified, inhibited.

1. Freedom of discussion, with colleagues and with trainees, to promote clarity of thought, challenge and investigation, and consequent definition both of terms and of efficient point of view.

2. Freedom for recreative shift from topic or method to cognate and yet fresh and stimulating approach or description so as to give perspective and to promote breadth of comprehension and liberal views, interpenetration of seemingly conflicting yet mutually beneficial concepts and factors.

3. Freedom to range afield into related studies for illustrative cases so that the class may perceive unity in variety and not multiversity in chaos.

4. Freedom for meditative reflection before determining the precise mode of presenting the next day's, the next week's, the next month's assignments; considering modifications and adjustments, pondering upon their merits for these men and this program, deliberating sedulously and sincerely before fixing upon procedure.

5. Freedom for self-examination, gauging and testing one's results, providing against fatigue or vexation or doubt, especially through relaxed yet congenial conference with colleagues.

All these frustrations and more beside dragged on the nerves and the consciences of the staffs of instruction, old and young alike. The blame of course was Hitler's, but the tensions and strains were no less on that account. Freedoms were being sacrificed to Freedom.

But, as the boys say, this was not the half of it. Consider that this program was introduced not only because of exigencies of training but also because of exigencies of time. The courses of study must not only be carried through under the pressure of brevity but had to be commenced without delay.

After all, when a scholar has occasion to change the treatment of a subject, whether in writing a text or in classroom instruction, he needs time to turn round in. But in this case the time was lacking. And the changes were profound, painfully agitating and dubious, too.

1. The omission of all but essential principles and methods. But, what are the essentials? Apart from the obvious main partitions of the subject this question could not be lightly or quickly answered; differences of interpretation and of function were bound to arise, as well as divergent opinions among the members of the staff. And what methods are to be preferred, which to be discarded? Again rose the need for discussion, evaluation, "searchings of heart"—indeed, the parallel of the indecisions of the tribes at Deborah's summons and that of us instructors on this present occasion was most striking, save that we could not abide in our tents. Indecision was inevitable, repulsive though it might be to the scientific mind or to the spirit of the teacher.

2. For so much depended upon the outlook, the frame or frames of reference, the background and training, and the mood and temper of the classes themselves. Until the instructor met these trainees, section by section, where could he begin, and with what assumptions respecting their morale, understanding, or ability? Again and again instructors agreed, as the opening weeks went by, that they were still exploring, still hesitant, still gathering data in each session from which to form an hypothesis to be tested in section after section for the revision and adjustment that should at last provide a workable theory of content and method.

3. Add to these the denial of the all but instinctive deliberation of experienced teachers, that preparatory forty days (or weeks) of meditation in solitude, through which the mood as well as the mode of treatment and the vision of purpose and end-product are to be attained.

In sum, the task required instruction to be organized and put into action without certainty of content or method, with no reliable account of the pupils to be encountered (except that they were present by compulsion), and with no opportunity for meditative development for the needs of the situation.

These two major conditions, then, the restrictions upon freedoms and the lack of knowledge, would seem to block progress beyond hope. Not so.

The very discouragement acted as a challenge. As in other organizations and institutions engaged in the war effort, the crisis begot the mood—"We do the impossible at once, the miraculous a little later."

The heads of the colleges, naturally, were the first to encounter this challenge. To presidents, deans, and registrars, the introduction of this military program came as a relief, albeit as likewise a problem. To these executives who had been watching the numbers of their students ebbing more and more swiftly the pressing question had been whether it would be possible to avoid suspending the work of certain departments or even of entire schools. Temporary though such an interruption would be, it was a grave threat against a national way of life that has so firmly

stressed the importance of advanced education as the need of the many rather than of the few. Even the minimum of inevitable readjustments and reductions of executive and teaching personnel as well as of student bodies would, at best, seriously disturb continuity and unity of any institution's function; at worst, the effect might well be the submergence or the complete loss of departments, especially perilous when a coming world change would demand dispassionate judgment in both analysis and synthesis, in research, and in formulation of conclusions as to methods and also principles in field after field of study.

The introduction of this intensive system, then, afforded relief as well as anxiety to collegiate executives. And not only on the basis already cited but on the further grounds that the task gave occasion for a nation-wide set of experiments in a mode of instruction unlike accepted methods and likewise enforced by grim necessity.

Rare indeed was the occasion; probably unparalleled, for the reason that until modern times the use of scientific methods of inquiry has either been unknown or disregarded, save in a few aspects of mathematics. Useful, certainly, the instance was and is, for it provided a number and range and variety of pedagogical data that must afford a notable supply of evidence respecting the actual status, good and/or evil, of a compulsory and objectionable course of action. At least the test of cramming as a mode of education would now be made on a large and significant scale; henceforth material and direct evidence should be available, and discussion could be conducted in terms of extensive experience rather than on a priori hypotheses.

Of course the findings to be derived from these thousands of grades and regarding the subsequent effectiveness of the trainees in these subjects remain yet to be collected and studied. What can be mentioned at present consists of impressions derived from the day by day contacts during the terms of instruction.

What is the worth, the intellectual validity of such impressions, necessarily personal and also necessarily limited in this present writing to a small section or corner of the entire field of action?

The worth can be hardly more than suggestive—indicative of lines of inquiry and reflection to be pursued by all who are concerned with the future of education, whether as a process or as the content of a compartment of life. Yet such suggestiveness at least offers hints or clues, and from clues man has derived his approach to every problem that he has really begun to solve.

The first impression confirms the usual expectation, namely, the dissatisfaction of instructor and class alike at being forced to hurry through or past questions and topics of importance; the awareness of incompetency,

both in learning and in teaching; the temptation to give up the attempt as vain or else fruitless, if not actually destructive.

The second impression followed as soon as it became clear that the work must continue at that hurried pace. The mood of distrust and dislike declined and was replaced by one of resignation.

Then a third impression became more and more prevalent, one of acceptance—a shift from darkness toward light, from distrust, if not hopeless doggedness, to hopefulness. For the class began to find that it was able to use quite intelligently information and skill first encountered last week or the week before, that the work in hand was baffling, but that the earlier bewilderments were being replaced by the feeling of a recognition, not so much intellectual as intelligent; the immediate problem might still seem insoluble, but at least it was based on principles and findings that held meaning. Again and again, in the second and third terms trainees would say: "It's not so bad; some day I'll really go back and get this stuff into my head properly."

Here, then, is an impression, confirmed by instructors in a variety of subjects and from a dozen or more separate colleges and institutes, that very definitely offers matter for further examination, experiment, elaboration.

Another impression, that grew in power as time went on, seemed to approve the military procedure of eliminating trainees of low standing before the end of a term, usually at the end of the half term, though sometimes earlier and at other times later. And instructors and trainees alike noted with evident interest that these "separated" men were transferred to other duties, that they were not discarded or demoted so much as redistributed, assigned to work, whether intellectual or otherwise, for which they showed greater fitness. To all concerned this doctrine seemed more attractive than the old Wykehamist *"Disce aut Discede"*—"Get on or Get Out." So here, then, is a question for universities and colleges to ponder: what is the institution's responsibility toward the student who is not fitted for the course or department in which he has been entered? Can he, once having been admitted as suitable material, be then cast into outer darkness by a scholastic Pilate who absolves himself with a deprecatory washing of hands? Why, in the first place, let the student dree his weird for a semester instead of assisting him to find an adjustment midway in that term? It can be done; it has been done; and with increased effectiveness for the rest of the class in every instance, as the instructor no longer had to give due heed to the laggards, and also with increased effectiveness for the majority of those transferred to other work, for they recognized that a sincere and practical system was in action to place them where they could make progress, really get ahead along lines that

were suited both to their capacities and to the needs of the organization.

If the universities follow this trend . . .?

A fourth impression, corollary to this, grew more and more distinct during the transition from resignation to acceptance, and gave signs of being actuated as well by the "separation" technique. This consisted of a blend of curiosity, pride, and zeal on the part of the instructors. They, too, like the trainees, admitted that the courses had to be carried on, that retreat was unthinkable, and then also noted the beginnings of that strange form of achievement, which revealed that in spite of blundering and hazy notions respecting the work in hand the class nonetheless had absorbed a profitable amount, in quality and quantity, of knowledge and skill in earlier phases of the subject.

In consequence of this phenomenon, probably, the instructors began to look for the means to increase this retention; the time lag no longer distressed them but became an accepted, natural effect, quite conceivably usable. The temper of the staff of instruction took on more of the character of a research staff, with whom patience and inventiveness of variety of techniques are the major virtues.

In other words, the teaching could be handled, though by unaccustomed methods and devices—which is to say that in this branch of the war effort, as in industry, transportation, and other civilian fields of action, the impossible became possible and accomplished simply by study-in-action, by persistently striving without delay to find the way round, through, or over the obstacles hitherto unfaced and hence unknown and unsolved.

Further impressions might be supplied, but would do little more than repeat what has already been presented.

One point remains to be noted, before summing up. That is, the staffs of instruction ranged in age and in quantity and quality of teaching experience and official ranks, from young to old, from green assistants to professors *emeriti*. Few, if any, welcomed the task; few, if any, failed to see the need for the task and the inevitable character it possessed; few, then, if any, felt unhampered mentally and morally, by the loss of freedoms and of time for reflection.

Yet this very fact produced a situation long familiar to the business world and to the farmers and the explorers. Ask production managers, accountants, salesmen, machinists, unskilled labor, bankers, purchasing agents, exporters; ask cattle graziers, lumbermen, wheat growers, tobacco planters; ask prospectors, meteorologists; ask Bernard Baruch, Admiral Byrd, Carveth Wells, Cecil B. De Mille, Glenn Curtiss: all of them are likely to speak with firm and yet amused directness of the constant battle with obstacles, the perpetual feeling common to mundane operations that

obstructions and hindrances, material, intellectual, and spiritual, inhere in the very nature of life.

Scholarly seclusion in "the little garden walled around, a little spot of hallowed ground" has long been a theme for jocularity, if not derision, among the tinkers, tailors, soldiers, sailors, rich men, poor men, plowboys, and thieves.

To conclude—grant that the scholar is essential and that his seclusion is the chief circumstance that enables him to exist; yet in the era of applied science, of checks and balances between practice and theory, this seclusion cannot and must not exclude the world whether by shutting him in or locking it out. Current literature often employs such figures as "the ivory tower," *"hortus inclusus," "fontes signati,"* with an asperity that reveals distrust or reproof. Since learning nowadays is recognized as the hope of the future, it must be practical enough to serve the present. It must descend into the arena, fight with the beasts, prove that its possessors are not Mercury nor Jupiter, but Barnabas and Paul, neither gods nor demigods, and certainly not idols, but true servants of the Most High, seekers of the Eternal Wisdom, fellow men, feeling and bearing the toil and the pains of humanity.

The scholar's freedoms must consequently be sacrificed for the sake of world freedom in a very real sense. He must be willing, in crises, to make the best of a bad state of affairs, to bear the strain and share the fears, to set aside his ideals even, both to prove his willingness and capacity for sharing the evils and also to learn immediately and directly what steps he himself can take in time of peril and haste.

His life, then, must henceforth and for many years to come, be "more abundant" in that it is more crowded, more dominated and at times fettered by the needs of the unprivileged, uninformed, all but helpless multitudes of sufferers.

The scholar, whether in library, laboratory, lecture hall, or classroom, is privileged. The freedoms of time and space and resources, of discussion and reflection, of choice of fields and methods of study—these freedoms he has long regarded as his due, his right, without which he is frustrate. They are his guarantees of life, liberty, and happiness, his rod and his staff, the answer to his prayer—his daily bread.

True, but these privileges, this right, must not produce a wrong. This principle must not arrogate ruthlessness to itself, however courteously. Learning must not refuse the call from Macedonia, nor reject the fundamental doctrine of self-sacrifice. The hungry sheep must be fed; not glutted with unessentials, mere chaff, or caviar, to the general; they must be first of all given the data that make them perceive the conditions of modern life, the factors that cannot be disregarded, the methods that

must be employed, the problems that immediately demand solution; and all this without bias or prejudice, without the pleading or threatening of doctrinaires, faddists, propagandists. Directness and simplicity—these are the measures of adequacy for the teaching that the millions must receive or else perish.

The hour is late, the workers in the vineyard all too few. Britain is proposing to build and operate scores of colleges and technical institutes. Build them she can, and must, for her sixteen accredited institutions of the higher learning are pitifully incompetent by comparison with her forty millions of population. We with less than four times that number already have nearly ten times her number of colleges deemed worthy of honorable mention, together with hundreds more that impart no little measure of learning and skill beyond the high school reach. But where will Britain find the teachers for her many new colleges? She does not know; and unless she can speedily find them and train them, the twilight of her greatness is upon her. In France, in Italy, in nation after nation, the paucity of instructors is similar; even with us there may be occasion for uneasiness. The hour is late, indeed, and darkness of the mind threatens to cover much of the earth.

How vividly the warnings and the precepts and the instances of Scripture light up this present! We must, like Abraham, refuse to sacrifice our flesh and blood, must find other victims, even ourselves, or, at least, our labor and time and freedom, if we are to make the step forward out of past stupidity toward godliness and truth. We shall receive our reward, for in free giving there is a freedom that is more blessed than in any freedom received. We must bear the sorrows of many, and share the burden of their griefs; the many have gone astray, like sheep, no doubt, and doubtless they tend at times to despise and reject the professors—all the more reason, then, that the professors should become good shepherds, think not of themselves or their pleasurable pipings among the flocks but spend long and weary hours seeking green pastures and waters of purity and sustenance and comfort, and oils with which to anoint and heal.

With Peter, let us hearken to the Lord's voice: "Feed my sheep!" Our reward is not here, but hereafter: that is our Faith. So let us seek the way, and follow it, his Way, and feed his sheep.

CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM OF THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

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As DEMOCRACY is on trial in the world of today, it will not be amiss to give some thought to the criticism of the great democracy of the ancient world, that of the Athenians, which flourished first under the leadership of Pericles and was continued as the mode of government of Athens during the greater part of the Peloponnesian War. A very brief summary of some of its characteristics will be appropriate here.

I should like to call to mind the essentials. The people is supreme through its legislative power in making the laws. All citizens are members of the assembly, which is the legislative body and is supreme. This assembly has some judicial functions; it can also ostracize unwanted political leaders. The senate, consisting of older men, has more prestige. It is the highest administrative power. It might inaugurate legislation, but its purpose is to prepare resolutions for the assembly. The officials of the state are elected for one year only and are subject to audit and examination at the end of the term of service. The principal officials are the ten generals, in charge of military affairs and the like; and the nine archons, in charge of civil affairs. The courts are popular courts; there is no judge learned in the law. The Athenian citizens are judges and jurors at the same time. These very men have made the laws; it is to be supposed that they know them. When a case has been decided in a popular court, there can be no appeal; the power of the people is supreme. The body of jurors in any court is large, that is, 501 or 1,001. These men express their decision by voting.

It is of course understood that women are not citizens. It is also to be understood that slavery is taken for granted. It seems to me foolish to bring this charge against the Athenian democracy that it was no real democracy because of the presence of slaves and women, neither of whom had any share in the government. However, the fair way to regard such conditions is from the point of view of the people themselves, in this case the slaveholder. In a slaveholding state slaves are not human beings; they are chattels. Long ago Aristotle said that the slave was a live tool, a tool was a lifeless slave. We are proud of our achievement in abolishing slavery; but there are many other ways of enslaving men, as is more than evident at present. And with regard to women, we must remember that it was not until very recent times that women had any part in popular governments. Indeed, most of us remember the time when women were

given the franchise; and it is a well-known fact that many women think they have not yet received all the rights that are due them.

This democracy of the Athenians rules an empire under its control. The dependent cities provide a large part of the income of Athens. About one-half of the citizens are in the service of the state and receive pay for their services.

Apparently only a small part of the Athenian citizens normally attended the assembly. A demagogic leader in this way could fill an assembly with his followers. The average citizen was at times apathetic and neglectful of his duty. At this time there were about 35,000 citizens of Athens, and Thucydides tells us (VIII, 72) that an attendance of 5,000 at the assembly was looked upon as a record.

Aristophanes lives and writes his comedies at this time. We must be cautious about regarding him as an historian; but the way in which he treats some well-known facts for presentation on the comic stage certainly shows many abuses of the democratic ideal. I should like to remind you of some of Aristophanes' strictures upon the democracy in the early part of his career.

These were the days of the Peloponnesian War, the days when Cleon was the demagogue in Athens, inheriting the mantle of Pericles, and leading the demos where he would. Cleon was preaching mass terror. The Athenian allies were treated like subjects, not friends. The whole adult male population of revolted Mitylene would have been put to death (427 B.C.) at the urging of Cleon, had not the Athenians repented and rescinded their previous action; the second ship bearing the reprieve barely arrived at Mitylene in time to prevent the massacre.

Charges of fickleness, changeableness, and cruelty against the democracy of Athens seem to be substantiated when we read of the treatment of the inhabitants of Mitylene, or the trial and condemnation of the generals after Arginusæ, and particularly the treatment of the inhabitants of Melos, who had to give up their neutrality and either join the Athenian empire voluntarily, or after being defeated in fighting for their honor be forced into subjection.

All of this is so modern and sounds so up to date. What follows is from the publisher's recommendation of a new translation of Thucydides' *History*[1]:

> Thucydides wrote the story of the first democracy in history, and of the fortunes and fall of its empire, but his pages contain the modern world-scene in miniature. Ancient Greece is twentieth-century Europe, incapable of union, tearing itself to pieces in wars which it did not desire but could not avoid. Here are familiar modern phenomena—democracy and imperialism, the class struggle, the revolutionary spirit,

[1] *Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War*, edited in translation by R. W. Livingstone, New York, Oxford University Press, 1943.

the technique of aggression, cynical Real-politik, the importance of sea-power, even Quislings and evacuation problems. . . . The tale is told by a great political thinker, whose penetrating insight and dramatic power caused Macaulay to call him the "greatest historian that ever lived."

Very modern also are the fluctuations of democracy and oligarchy at Samos and Athens, and the sudden reversals of fortune and popularity of Alcibiades.

In this connection, I am greatly annoyed when I find modern historians criticising Thucydides for magnifying into a great war really border raids and local fights. We should realize that the Peloponnesian War was like a European war on a smaller scale, a war in which Greece with her small but powerful states and their outlying empires takes the place of the territorially larger but not more powerful states of Modern Europe. It is a war between two ways of life; and democracy did not win in Greece. Both sides were weakened, and Greece lay helpless to become a prey to any foreign power which could grow great enough to overwhelm her.

The behavior of the Athenians toward their allies was shown in Aristophanes' *Babylonians* (now lost) which appeared in 426 B.C. In the fragments of this play we find a soldier demanding quarters and making remarks about the good furniture of a house. Was he going to loot the place? Then there is mention of an extortioner who is after money, as well as mention of corruption and bribery at Athens. Again, some one, perhaps an Athenian solider, is spoken of as killing an islander's yoke of plough oxen because he wants meat. And these sufferers are allies, not enemies, of the Athenians. Are there any parallels to this in Modern Europe?

The poet suffered for this boldness, although the play was produced in the name of another. Cleon was after him; and though he was prosecuted in some way, he escaped the danger.

In the next year, 425 B.C., appeared the first extant play of Aristophanes, the *Acharnians*, which is a great plea for peace, although treated in the comic manner. And in 424 appeared the *Knights*, a grand attack on Cleon, the noisy and clever demogogue, but nevertheless successful in many of his undertakings, who just at this time was at the height of his power and success, due largely to his capture of the Spartans at Pylos, the way for which had been paved by General Demosthenes—the terrible Cleon who bestrides Greece like a colossus, with one leg in Pylos and one in the Athenian assembly (*Knights* 75), the terror of the allies, who catches most in troubled waters (864).

This is far from the ideal of Pericles as it is set forth in his Funeral Oration.[2] Although this is very familiar, it is a good thing to read it again

[2] Thucydides II, 34-54 (Jowett's translation). Quoted by courtesy of the Clarendon Press.

at a time like the present; for it is the best expression of the democratic ideal, and would enhance the fame of any modern democratic leader.

But before I praise the dead, I should like to point out by what principles of action we rose to power, and under what institutions and through what manner of life our empire became great. For I conceive that such thoughts are not unsuited to the occasion, and that this numerous assembly of citizens and strangers may profitably listen to them.

Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbours, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbour if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for authority and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

Then, again, our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries. Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner or prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret if revealed to an enemy might profit him. We rely not upon management or trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas they from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. . . .

If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? Since we do not anticipate the pain, although, when the hour comes, we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest; and thus too our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard

a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are orginators, we are all sound judges of a policy. . . .

To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact; and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the state. For in the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. . . . For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valour, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. Such is the city for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and everyone of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf. . . .

For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men. Make them your examples, and, esteeming courage to be freedom and freedom to be happiness, do not weigh too nicely the perils of war. . . .

Now I want to introduce to you the *Constitution of the Athenians,* a work which has been much discussed and studied of late, particularly, by the Germans. The most recent of these studies is *Die Schrift vom Staate der Athener,* by Ernst Rupprecht.

This treatise which goes under the name of the *Constitution of the Athenians* was once attributed to Xenophon, probably as a companion piece to the *Constitution of the Lacedæmonians.* However, it has been proved that it was not written by Xenophon. Its date is placed by some in 424 B.C., by others in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. It was written by some oligarch hostile to the Athenian democratic government, for which reason the author has been called the "Old Oligarch." Professor Gilbert Murray used this name for the author; and Andreades is wrong in denying it. A very good introductory article is by Gilbert Norwood, "The Earliest Prose Work of Athens."[3] A recent discussion of some of the problems will be found in the essay entitled "The Old Oligarch," by A. W. Gomme.[4] The treatise is interesting not only as "the oldest specimen of literary Attic prose," but because of its thought-provoking content. The criticisms of excesses of a democracy, which at times seems rather irresponsible and always self-seeking, and often cruel, are well worth reading. However, this is not intended as an attack on the democracy, much as the Old Oligarch dislikes it; but its purpose is to show other conservatives how the Athenians make their democracy work, and how it is successful in fact, and perhaps also to serve as a warning to keep hands off.

Rupprecht goes farther in finding and rejecting interpolated passages

[3] *Classical Journal,* XXV (1930), pp. 373-382.

[4] *Athenian Studies, Presented to William Scott Ferguson,* 1940, pp. 211-245.

than many conservative critics will approve. He is most thorough in his discussion of these passages. The Greek text at which he arrives, relieved of interpolations, is remarkably satisfactory, clear, and intelligible. His text begins with the introduction which we find in our ordinary texts and ends with the paragraph similar in nature (3, 1), which seems a logical conclusion as it corresponds so well with the introduction. The text as our editions have it is certainly confused. The text at which Rupprecht arrives is clear, definite, and certainly brief. If this is anywhere near the original form, the document is a very clear, readable, brief political pamphlet. Rupprecht's work is deserving of careful attention; and he has made a serious and important contribution to the study of the text and interpretation of this interesting and thought-provoking work.

There is a new edition of the complete text by Ernst Kalinka, published in the *Teubner Series.* You will find the complete text well translated by Henry G. Dakyns (*The Greek Historians,* ed. F. R. B. Goldophin, 2 vols., Random Press, 1942). This is very well worth reading; particularly in these days when there is so much discussion of democracy and criticism of all kinds. The treatise is very brief; the full text with critical notes occupies only twenty Teubner pages, while the brief text of Rupprecht is very much shorter.

I present to you a new translation of this short text, supplemented occasionally from the fuller Greek text as edited by Kalinka, with an attempt to preserve the style of the author. You will have no trouble in understanding who are meant by "the bad and the poor and the common people," while the "good" represent the opposition to the democracy.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ATHENIANS

Concerning the government of the Athenians, that they chose this method of government, I do not praise them for this that in choosing this course they chose that the bad should fare better than the good. Now I don't praise them for this. But since they approved of this course, that they preserve the government successfully and accomplish the other things in which they seem to the rest of the Greeks to be at fault, this is what I shall prove.

First of all then I shall say this, that the bad and the poor and the common people seem with good reason to be more influential here than the noble and the wealthy—for this reason, that it is the common people who man the ships and bring power to the state much more than the soldiers of the infantry and the noble and the good. Then since this is so, it seems to be fair for all persons to have a share in the offices of state and for every citizen who wishes to have the right to express his opinions.

Next, a matter which causes surprise to some persons, that in all cases they give more influence to the bad than to the good, in this very matter they will show clearly that they preserve the democracy. For when the poor fare well they increase the power of the democracy. But if the rich and the good fare well, the common

people are stiffening the opposition against themselves. *And in every country the best element is opposed to the democracy.* For among the best you find the least intemperance and injustice, and the most exacting demand for what is good and useful; but among the people, the greatest ignorance and insubordination and wickedness. *For poverty leads them the more readily to what is base.*

But one might say that they ought not allow everybody one after another to speak in public and deliberate in the senate, but only the most capable. But in this too they plan what is best in allowing the bad also to speak. For if the good did the speaking and served as senators, there would be advantages for men like themselves, but no advantages for the common people. But at present the one who wishes speaks his mind and discovers what is good for himself and for those like him. One might say, What good would such a man know for himself or for the people? But they are aware that the ignorance and good will of this man are worth more than the virtue and ill will of the good man. *For the people does not want itself to be enslaved, but to be free and to govern,* and concerns itself little about a bad system of laws; for what you consider bad legislation, from this the people themselves derive their strength and are free. But if you are looking for good legislation, first of all you will see the most capable men making the laws for them; and next, the good will punish the bad and they will not allow crackbrained fellows to serve in the senate, or speak publicly, or serve in the assembly. Therefore the people would most quickly fall from these advantages into slavery.

And again, there is the greatest freedom on the part of the slaves at Athens; and neither is it allowed to strike anyone there, nor will the slave get out of your way. I will tell you why this is a characteristic of the country. If it were the custom for a slave to be struck by a free man, very often one might have struck an Athenian citizen thinking him to be a slave; for the common people here are no better in their dress than the slaves. And if anyone is surprised at this that they allow their slaves to run wild here and some of them to live magnificently, they would appear to be doing this also on purpose; for where a naval power exists it is necessary to be slaves to the slaves for economic reasons, that we may receive the money paid for their hired service, and to let them run at liberty.

The demos has put an end to those who practice gymnastic exercises and those who practice music, considering this not a good thing, knowing that it is not able to take part in this. But on the other hand, in the matter of supplying choruses and gymnastic exercises and equipping ships of war, they know that the rich supply the money and the demos is benefited, and the rich direct the gymnasia and equip the triremes, while the demos gets the benefit of the triremes and the gymnasia. Accordingly the demos claims the right to receive pay for singing and running and dancing and sailing in the ships, in order that itself may be the gainer and the rich may become poorer; and in the courts they have no more care for justice than their own advantage.

But concerning the allies, that when the Athenians come to their cities they falsely accuse the good and prosecute them and deprive them of their civil rights, they do this because they know that *the ruler must be hated by the one who is ruled,* and that if the rich and the good shall have power in the cities the rule of the people in Athens will last for a very short time. It is for this reason that they deprive the good of their rights and take away their wealth and drive them into banishment and put them to death, while they strengthen the bad. But someone might say that this is the strength of the Athenians, if the allies are able to contribute money; but to the members of the demos it seems to be a greater advantage

to possess the wealth of the allies, and for the allies to work just enough to live, without being able to plot against their masters.

But the people of the Athenians seem to plan badly in this respect, that they compel the allies to sail to Athens for decision of their lawsuits. But they argue on their side how many advantages there are in this for the Athenian people. First, they receive their pay throughout the year from the court fees. Secondly, sitting at home without sailing to foreign lands they manage the allied states.

But if each group had their lawsuits at home, since they are angered at the Athenians they would destroy those among themselves who were most friendly to the Athenian democracy. Besides, if the allies did not come to Athens for their lawsuits they would have respect only for those of the Athenians who visit them, (the generals and the trierarchs and ambassadors). But as the case stands, every individual of the allies is compelled to flatter the Athenian people, knowing that he must come to Athens and pay his penalty or get justice, not before some other persons but before the people themselves, who are really the law at Athens.

Their infantry force, which seems to be by no means in good condition at Athens, is constituted in this way. They think that they are inferior to and fewer than their enemies, but they are superior to the allies even by land and they think the infantry is sufficient if they are stronger than the allies. And besides, something like this is established for them by fortune. For those who are ruled by land it is possible, since they are united from small towns, to assemble and fight; while for those ruled by sea, who are islanders, it is not possible for the states to meet together, for the sea intervenes and *those who have control are the masters of the sea;* and if it is possible for the islanders to assemble secretly at a rendezvous in one island, they will perish from famine. But what cities are on the mainland under the rule of the Athenians, some are ruled by fear and the others very much by need of goods; *for there is no state which does not require to import or export something.* These things, then, it will not have, unless it is obedient to the rulers of the sea. Next, for those who rule the sea it is possible to do the very things which are not possible for those who rule the land, namely, to ravage the land of the stronger; for it is in their power to sail up and land where there is no enemy or where there is only a small force, and if the enemy approaches, they can embark and sail away.

Then again, for those who have command of the sea it is possible to sail away from their own country on as long a voyage as you please, but for those who rule on land it is not possible to depart from their own country a distance of many days; for marches are slow and it isn't possible for one who is going on foot to have supplies for a long time. In addition, the one who goes on foot must go through a friendly country or win his way by fighting; while the one who goes by boat may disembark wherever he is superior, and where he is inferior, instead of disembarking in that part of the country, he may sail past until he reaches a friendly region or a weaker enemy.

Next, the diseases of the crops are bitter blows to those who are superior on land, but those who rule the sea put up with them easily; for every land doesn't suffer from disease at the same time, so that from the prosperous land food comes to the lords of the sea.

But they do lack one thing. For if the Athenians were rulers of the sea inhabiting an island, they would have the power to do injury if they wished and suffer none in return, as long as they ruled the sea. But since it was not their fortune to inhabit an island from the beginning, they now act thus: they deposit their

property in the islands trusting in their ascendancy by sea, but they allow the land of Attica to be ravaged, knowing that if they will waste pity on it they will be deprived of other and greater advantages.

Furthermore, it is necessary for oligarchic states strictly to observe alliances and agreements; and if they don't abide by their compacts or if they transgress their agreements, a penalty may be exacted from the few who made the compacts. But with regard to the compacts which the demos makes, it is possible for it to lay the blame on the proposer of the measure and the one who put it to the vote and to assert: "I was not present and do not favor the proposals"; and if these matters should not meet with approval, they find and use countless pretexts for not doing what they don't want to do. And if some harm results from what the people decided, the people bring the charge that a few men ruined them by working against them; but if any good comes, they claim the credit for themselves.

Another point—they do not allow anyone to make fun of the people in a comedy or to speak ill of them, in order that they themselves may not be criticized. But privately they encourage it, if anyone wishes to satirize anybody, knowing well that for the most part the one who is criticized in the comedy is not one of the people or of the crowd but either a man of wealth or noble or powerful. And only a few of the poor or of the common people are satirized on the stage, and not even these unless on account of being a busybody and seeking to have more influence than the rest of the people; so that they are not annoyed when such persons are satirized.

I excuse the people itself for a democracy; for everyone is excused for trying to benefit himself. But whatever man who is not of the people preferred to live in a state with a democratic government rather than in one under oligarchic rule, has prepared himself to do wrong and has learned that it is much easier for a scoundrel to escape notice in a state that is ruled by the people than in one that is ruled by the few.

And concerning the government of the Athenians, I do not approve of their method; but since indeed they decided to have a democracy, they seem to me to be preserving the democracy successfully by using this method which I have explained. . . .

And someone might interpose that no one in Athens indeed has been deprived of his rights unjustly. But I say that there are some who have been deprived of their rights unjustly, but only a few. But there is need of more than a few to attack the democracy at Athens, since this certainly is true that men are not embittered who are justly deprived of their rights but those who are unjustly deprived. How then could one think that the majority are unjustly deprived of their rights at Athens, where the people have control of the offices? But in consequence of not managing one's office rightly and not saying what is right or doing what is right, for such reasons they are disfranchised at Athens.

When one considers this, one ought not think there is any danger from the disfranchised at Athens.

So ends the treatise which we call the *Constitution of the Athenians*. The real Athenian democracy must have been somewhere between the ideal of Pericles and the conditions presented and criticized by the Old Oligarch. Criticisms of democracy were as free in Athens as in Modern America. Readers of Greek literature and students of politics are familiar with Plato's attitude and Aristotle's analysis of constitutions.

In their attitude toward Greek history the Germans have shown characteristic prejudices. In earlier years we had noticed that they showed little sympathy with Demosthenes as the champion of the freedom of the small state. So now it is particularly noteworthy that the Germans have been unusually interested for more than ten years in this criticism of the democracy of Athens; they seem to have been fascinated by the instability of the democracy, its irresponsibility at home and its inability to rule abroad satisfactorily and well. They liked to see England in the rôle of Athens, which came so near being an island empire. But by the irony of fate, the cruelty toward the subject peoples shown by the ancient democracy is now exercised in Europe by the autocratic power of the German conquerors. Nor is it only democracies which are irresponsible and likely to repudiate compacts and agreements; modern European nations, which are certainly not democratic, appear to be past masters in this art.

However, it is not my intention to tell you what to think about this little work, the earliest example of Attic prose. This is a stimulating and thought-provoking treatise. I wished to bring it to your attention, to show you its value and interest particularly at this time.

Where Ignorance Is Bliss, 'Tis Folly

In an ordination council in a local Baptist church some little time ago the candidate was not having a pleasant time. To an impartial onlooker it might even have seemed that many of the delegates were—to slip into the vernacular—out to get him. The questions were coming furiously, and with heat. Still he was ecclesiastically solvent, although with a very slender margin. Finally one of the delegates, whose reputation in the association was not in ratio to his depth of learning, demanded to know the candidate's views, if any, on the Trinity. The answer was very definitely not satisfactory to the examiner. When finally the candidate in an unguarded moment suggested that he found no clear reference to the Trinity in the New Testament, there was a dramatic and portentous silence—for half a minute. Then the examiner with dreadful solemnity, drew a pocket Testament forth and read in outraged tones: "For there are three that bear record *in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth,* the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one." What did the young man mean by saying that he "found no clear reference to the Trinity in the New Testament"? Weren't these words clear? Couldn't he read? The young man assuredly could read: actually, although some of his answers did not reveal it, he was a very intelligent man, and reasonably prepared. The question should not seriously have disturbed him, for he had been exposed to it during his seminary sojourn. Perhaps he was weary—many of those in the council were. To bring this painful narrative to a close: he would in all probability have gone over the brink had not one of his friends come to the rescue with the recital of a few facts which the questioner and some of his acolytes should have known, but obviously didn't.

What were these forgotten facts? They are very simply set forth. The words which I have italicized do not occur in any Greek manuscript older than the fifteenth century, nor in the Greek Fathers, nor in any ancient version except Latin. The earliest evidence of these words being quoted as part of the text of I John is in the *Liber Apologeticus* of Priscillian, usually dated about A.D. 380. Not only all the Greek Fathers, but the Latin Fathers until the end of the fourth century—for example, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine—never cite them although it is utterly incomprehensible why, had they known them, they should have failed to use them, for they would have clinched their argument. They were not in Jerome's Vulgate. When they first appeared, in the so-called Theodulfian recension of the Vulgate, in the ninth century, the earthly witnesses

precede the heavenly. Nor is the evidence negative, that is, from silence. In addition to the absence of the words from the earliest manuscripts of the Vulgate no less a figure than Leo the Great, just before the Council of Chalcedon, quoted I John 5:4-8 in his famous letter to Flavianus. And the italicized words are not there. It would be easy to multiply the evidence, but it is pointless. It is idle to use battering-rams on doors that stand open. All who have even a smattering of biblical knowledge know and accept the well-known and universally accepted verdict of students of the New Testament text.

Why then do these words occur in the King James Version? The answer is easy and revealing. By the time of Erasmus the reading had become commonly accepted in the current editions of the Vulgate. But knowing the facts—he was a scholar of the first water—Erasmus had not included this late gloss in his first or second edition of the Greek text. In answer to the outraged protests of his critics he rashly agreed that if a single Greek manuscript could be found containing the words he would include them. Unhappy man! A *sixteenth*-century manuscript was conveniently discovered—it is now known to textual critics by the symbol 61—and Erasmus fulfilled his rash vow in his third edition (A.D. 1522). From there it got into the *Textus Receptus,* the text employed by the translators of the King James Version, and so became current English coin.

This is but one of many cases where the *Textus Receptus*—and the dependent King James Version—are utterly unreliable. One other particularly glaring example may be parenthetically included. For his text of Revelation Erasmus employed a twelfth-century manuscript (known to critics as 1r). While of reasonably good text, this manuscript was defective at the end (Rev. 22:16-21 being omitted). *To remedy this lack Erasmus himself translated the Latin for these verses into Greek.* As a consequence the *Textus Receptus* still contains words not found in any Greek manuscript. Since, as indicated above, the Textus Receptus was the text employed by the translators of the King James Version, the stronghold of those who talk about verbal inspiration, these interesting eddies of history should give pause—unless, of course, Erasmus be somewhat belatedly admitted to the ranks of the peculiarly inspired.

These elemental facts of textual criticism are to be known by all who will take the trouble to read. All modern translations, including the American Revision, omit, of course, the famous gloss about the "three heavenly witnesses." Every modern commentary on I John relates the facts. In such a situation it was a heavy responsibility that that rabble-rousing minister faced when through his unconsecrated ignorance he sought to prevent an honest man from receiving ordination. Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly—and sometimes it is wickedness.

From Off the Campus and On

One of the painful gaps in the education of most modern ministers is their ignorance of the Fathers. A little knowledge (often very little) of the first and second centuries, some information as to the doings of his own particular denomination during the past few decades—and nothing in between —would probably be a fair, if painful, definition of many a minister's historical knowledge. And it is most unfortunate. In the opening essay of this number Professor McDermott throws a brilliant light on one of these figures, too frequently but a name, Gregory of Tours. Since accepting the paper for publication the editor has asked a dozen ministers, all of whom are far more widely read than probably the average, what they knew of the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. One of them had a hazy impression that he had heard of it. If statistics are reliable, this essay, then, should prove fascinatingly fresh. Its author, since 1939 on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, at first in the department of Latin and at present in the department of classical studies, is a specialist in mediæval Latin. He was educated at Dickinson College and Johns Hopkins University. Before coming to Pennsylvania he taught Latin successively at Allegheny and Lehigh.

Below the surface of Dean Batten's good-humored essay are clearly-discerned problems and weaknesses of our modern educational system. Every faculty loves to monkey with its curriculum; this essay suggests that that gem of all fiction, the catalogue, might with profit be read from time to time by those from whom it goes as well as by those to whom it goes. Few men are more competent to write on this subject. Following his graduation from Temple University, in 1935, Mr. Batten came to Crozer. Since that date he has served in many capacities: student, assistant to the president, registrar, librarian, secretary of the faculty, acting president, and now dean.

Professor Harkness came to Crozer in 1937, after twelve years in the pastorate, to succeed Professor Vedder in the chair of church history. He is too well known to Crozer men generally and to readers of the Crozer Quarterly, of which he is a former editor, to need more than a hearty welcome. He holds degrees from McMaster University and the University of Chicago. For many years he has been president of the American Baptist Historical Society. His penetrating essay on Joseph Smith, Jr., should prove an important addition to the literature of the Mormon movement.

John Chilton Scammell, of the department of English in the College of Business Administration of Boston University, knows at first hand of what he writes. He has been in the thick of the expedited college program, has taught long hours with only short respites, and has not become either

sour or cynical. And he knows how to tell why this is the case. The crispness and delightful informality of his paper will easily suggest why he is in such constant demand as a radiobroadcaster. It may be further added for the benefit of those who like vital statistics that he is an Englishman by birth, was educated at Harvard, and is a lay preacher in the Episcopal church.

There is nothing new under the sun. If you don't believe it, you will after reading Dean Horn's paper. But you will find that the Old Oligarch had better manners than some of his modern acolytes. And manners are desperately important even if there is "a war on"! Dean Horn's achievements would fill a whole page: a lifetime classicist, dean of Muhlenberg College where he has taught since 1904, a member of the Board of Education of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, a papyrologist of distinction, and a grower of roses—it would seem as if he were competent to discuss almost any subject. We heartily welcome him to our pages.

Dr. Newell will be remembered for his frequent articles and book reviews in these pages. His most recent article, "The Cape Cod Plan," appeared in the CROZER QUARTERLY in October, 1943. Apparently he is not quite sure whether the editor, who is happy to be a member of Dr. Newell's summer congregation on Cape Cod, was properly impressed by the potentialities of the said Plan. Frankly, the editor wasn't; but he thought it a corking good article.

Once again our reviewers appraise a good grist of recent books. Nearly thirty specialists generously share their time and learning with readers of the CROZER QUARTERLY. Many of them regularly appear in this section. A few newcomers are warmly welcomed. Limits of space permit only the barest identification of those not already introduced in the preceding paragraphs. Professor Abrams is a member of the department of sociology in the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Bixler, a former professor at Harvard, is president of Colby College. Dr. Brightman, the eminent personalist, is a professor of philosophy at Boston University. Professor Buckler holds the chair of church history at Oberlin. Dr. Cherry is minister of the Methodist church at Sharon Hill, Pa. Dr. Dauerty is minister of the Presbyterian church in Moorestown, N. J. Dr. Davis is a professor of theology at Crozer. Dr. Franklin is president *emeritus* of Crozer. Professor Helfer is chairman of the department of music at Hunter College, New York City. Professor Hightower, of the department of sociology at Kalamazoo College, was a visiting professor at Crozer this past summer. Professor Hudson, formerly of Colgate-Rochester, is now a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago. Professor Jones is a member of the department of education of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Keighton, for many years minister in Narberth, Pa., is now

professor of homiletics at Crozer. Professor Kuizenga is Charles Hodge professor of systematic theology at Princeton Theological Seminary. Dr. Matthews is professor *emeritus* of Old Testament at Crozer. Professor Moehlman, professor *emeritus* of Colgate-Rochester, is a member of the faculty of history of the University of Rochester. Professor Montgomery, one of America's most distinguished Semitists, was for many years on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania and the Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia. Professor Pritchard holds the chair of Old Testament at Crozer. Dr. Reid is a professor of philosophy at Wake Forest College. Dr. Roberts is a professor of theology at Union Theological Seminary and secretary of the American Theological Society. Dr. Thomas is head of the department of cities of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

COMMUNICATION

THE EDITOR:

In "Where Ignorance Is Bliss, 'Tis Folly" of the October, 1943, CROZER QUARTERLY you said so much with which I am in complete agreement that it may seem petty carping even to suggest a difference of opinion. However, in the concluding paragraph your question "Is it always so easy to know *what* God's will is?" seems to be aimed at the "Cape Cod Plan of Prayer," and if so prompts two rejoinders.

First: Is not willingness to do God's will, quite regardless of what that will may be, of the very essence of real spiritual power? Such at least would seem to be the testimony of the mystic: note Thomas Kelly's testimony that through such lives "world-renewing divine forces are released." In that case it is the spirit of willingness—unreserved commitment—which is significant, and the question of what may be the will of God seems only indirectly relevant. The great majority of us, I suppose, like to have our own way rather well.

Second: There may be occasions when it is really doubtful what is God's will for an individual, but in most cases the real problem is not lack of knowledge but unwillingness to do as well as we know. God has given us reason and conscience, and by proper exercise of these gifts we seem fairly sure to be guided wisely and well. In most cases the difficulty lies in the tendency to follow our inclination rather than our best judgment.

It must be granted that now and again we find what Dr. Fosdick, in *On Being a Real Person,* has defined as the "mischievous conscience," and due allowance must be made for it; but given the normal mind and healthy conscience the average individual can well trust his best judgment to guide him with reasonable accuracy along the path that is God's will for him.

Harwich, Massachusetts HENRY C. NEWELL

BOOK REVIEWS

School and Church: The American Way, by Conrad Henry Moehlman, New York, Harper, ©1944, pp. x, 178, $2.50.

This book is an interesting, scholarly, and courageous attempt to analyze and describe the changes that have taken place in this country in the relations between church and state, with special reference to the question of religious education. The fundamental thesis is that the Founding Fathers, in insisting upon the complete separation of church and state, established a principle that has had far-reaching and salutary effect upon this country and even upon the entire world. This principle has made possible the development in this country of a fundamentally sound system of public education free from religious bias and permeated with the ideals of democracy. At the same time it has contributed greatly to the general dissemination of religion among all our people. By throwing the responsibility for sectarian religious instruction squarely upon the churches it has saved them, in spite of themselves, from internal deterioration and decay.

This thesis is supported by abundant historical data taken from reliable political, religious, and educational sources. In fact the book is so full of quotations from recognized authorities and so replete with documentation as often to obscure the argument and reduce the effectiveness of the presentation. However, this very documentation and assembly of data is quite unusual and very refreshing in a monograph of this kind and adds materially to the weight of the argument. Many churchmen, especially those who resist the interpretation of the Bible from the historical and critical standpoint, will violently disagree with the fundamental thesis and will reject the evidence that is presented. It is, nevertheless, difficult to explain away the facts as they are given and, facing these facts squarely and honestly, to refuse to accept the conclusions.

The author shows from unquestioned historical data how the fundamental attitude of Calvinistic Protestantism toward the function of the state and of the school laid the foundation for this separation. He also shows clearly that the diversity of religious beliefs even among the Protestants made impossible any union of church and state in a democracy founded upon the equal rights and privileges of all citizens. The public schools, especially, could not tolerate sectarian religious instruction, for this would deny the rights of people with diverse beliefs and interpretations of the Bible and would violate the principles upon which democracy was based.

By statistical data the rapid reduction in the enrollment in Protestant parochial schools is shown. Catholic schools are the only sectarian schools that show any vitality, and this only because of the repeated and insistent commands of pope and priest. Even with this pressure, less than half of all Catholic youth now attend parochial schools. There is also among the American Catholic leaders a growing conviction that parochial schools cannot meet the needs of Catholic youth.

The author states his conviction again and again that the public schools are not antireligious or unreligious but, on the contrary, are imbued with religious ideas and are now "the chief means of religious education for all youth." "But functionally viewed, American public education, emancipated from sectarianism, is indirectly the only universal teacher of religious values in the United States." "Although the formal teaching of religion in the American plan must be left to the home and the church, the values of religion have always been in public edu-

cation. The public school, in a certain sense, is more distinctly the expression of the faith of all the people than the church."

It is at this point that the author seems to be a bit hazy in his thinking or confused in his presentation. He seems, at times, to identify morality with religion and "religious values" with religion as seen in the quotations above. He also states that "democracy is the religion of the great majority of Americans," and names specifically the democratic ideals taught and the values attained in the public schools. These values and ideals are, he says, close to or identical with those of Christianity. At other times he makes a strong plea for the continuance of religious instruction in churches, for this supplies some elements that must, necessarily, be lacking in the instruction of our public schools. "Religious instruction and public education require very different atmospheres, attitudes and methods." Education, he says, is essentially scientific; it is based upon facts, induction, experimentation. "Science asks what and how—science solves and explains." "Religion appreciates and understands." "Religion is concerned with awe, wonder, reverence, mystery, the unknown, faith in God." "On the one hand, it must bring man before the judgment bar of God. On the other, it must enable man to believe that the everlasting arms are beneath." Those two points of view are somewhat inconsistent. If the public schools do teach or inculcate religion, if they are "the only universal teacher of religious values," then there would seem to be no place for the church or the church school. However, if there is something lacking in the "religious education" of the schools, then there is still an important place for the church in the process. What the author calls "religious values" are hardly synonomous with religion as described above. If this distinction were more clear-cut the argument would be more effective. When the last chapter is considered, alone, the position of the author is quite clear and shows his belief that the church and the home do have a vital function in religious education.

Taken as a whole, the book is a distinct contribution to the controversy regarding the question of the place of the school in religious instruction. It is almost a "must" for all who are interested in the future of religious education.

ARTHUR J. JONES

Slavery and Freedom, by Nicolas Berdyaev, New York, Scribner, 1944, pp. 271, $2.75.

Another title for this book would be "Of Human Bondage." But where Somerset Maugham described the cramping effects of a few specific impulses and habits, Berdyaev ranges over the whole field of economics, sociology, politics, and even metaphysics, and refuses to find slavery merely in a few psychological traits. God enslaves man; so does being; so do nature and society. Man is in bondage to himself, to the state, to civilization, to war, to the bourgeois spirit, to aristocracy, to sex, to beauty, and to history. A short chapter of eight pages toward the end of the book discusses "The Spiritual Liberation of Man; Victory over Fear and Death," but by the time this is reached the effect of the cumulative evidence for enslavement is well-nigh overwhelming.

Even here the liberation is not described in terms that are easy to understand. It is called "the victory of spiritual personality over the biological individual" (p. 252) and "a creativeness which leads to ecstasy of the moment" (p. 253). The latter is further called "the ecstasy of sacrificial service taken upon oneself" where one passes beyond nature into freedom and spirituality. This passage involves the break-through of eternity into the temporal, an "eschatological" process which will bring the victory of "existential" time over "historical" time and of personality

over what is common or universal. We must go through suffering, the cross, and death toward resurrection. For "nothing but a universal resurrection of everything that lives and has lived can reconcile us to the world-process" (p. 267).

Berdyaev is a writer with an acutely sensitive conscience who has suffered for his convictions, has read widely, and thought profoundly, and who seems frequently to have something of unusual significance to say. But it is tantalizingly difficult to discover just what this is. Berdyaev is all for freedom as opposed to existence, for spirit as opposed to nature, for subjectivity over objectivity, creationism over evolution, personality over the universal, love over law. Plato, Plotinus, and Schelling are too deterministic to suit him. Kant's distinction between freedom and nature interests him much more, and Schopenhauer's pessimism he finds more suggestive than the optimism of Hegel. Tolstoy convinced him that injustice lies at the roots of civilization and that history is full of the evidences of original sin. He is drawn to Marx's social sympathy though not to his materialism, to Ibsen's refusal to bow the knee to the social and conventional, and to Dostoievsky's profound analysis of the problem of personality.

But I for one find it very hard to see what it all adds up to. Berdyaev is against war and fascism and capitalism and determinism and many other forms of slavery. Does he actually do much more than assert with great eloquence that they are bad and that we should have something else? At times, it is true, he offers positive flashes of insight of great value. But I think he would be more helpful to all his readers if he were a little less imaginative and a little more solid, a little less inclined to spin his private webs of fancy and more concerned to tie them to the substantial world of nature which in one sense, truly enough, we must transcend, but in and through which we live and with which we must make our peace. We all need aid pretty desperately in our theologizing these days and Berdyaev might well bring it if he would only try harder to meet us on the level where we actually live.

J. S. BIXLER

John Dury, Advocate of Christian Reunion, by J. Minton Batten, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, ©1944, pp. iii, 227, $2.50.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the present thirtieth anniversary of the outbreak, in 1914, of war and rumours of wars, have combined with the accompanying movements for Christian reunion under Anglican and other auspices to provide Professor Batten with an ideal contemporary atmosphere for the subject of his biography. This opportunity he has taken, avoiding the pitfalls. The result is an eminently readable account of John Dury's fight, largely single-handed, to secure the unity of non-Roman Christianity on the basis of an organic ecclesiastical union—and his failure. The book should be read not only for its own intrinsic historical value, but also as a commentary on G. K. A. Bell's, *Documents on Christian Unity*—both series.

In his opening chapter Professor Batten describes the legacy of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, both in the desire for a "Catholic Protestantism" and in the emergence of a hardening Protestant scholasticism, together with the diplomatic consequences of the principle *cuius regio, eius religio.* Dury's position derived its strength from his recognition of the lines of demarcation (p. 6) in his fifty-two years' fight for pacification. Chapter II is devoted to Dury's ancestry and early life, which included exile with his father in Holland at the age of ten (1606), subsequent contact with the Pilgrim group and the protagonists in the Calvinistic controversies. It included, too, an excellent education at Leyden and Sedan, and led

to friendship with the leading educational reformers of the day: Andreæ Comenius, Hartlib, and others. His contact with Sir Thomas Roe ripened into a close comradeship in arms in the interests of peace, and reveals a new side of the ambassador's life. Chapters III to VIII are devoted to his efforts at "ecclesiastical pacification."

Dury started from Britain. Having been ordained *presbyter* in Scotland he accepted Anglican priesthood without renouncing his Presbyterian Orders. He had placed his trust in Laud, who promptly proceeded to betray it. It is significant that Dury saw, as did Thomas Cromwell, that the natural ally of the Church of England was to be found in the Lutherans, rather than in the satisfaction of post-Tridentine Rome, as the Caroline divines had been led through their path of apologetic to maintain. The failure of Laud to support him, followed by the diplomatic consequences of the death of Charles I and the Roman sympathies of the easy-going—perhaps even tolerant—Charles II finally destroyed any basis of hope of success based on English leadership. The nearest point reached was the abortive attempt of Anglo-Gallican union in the eighteenth century, some thirty years after Dury's death.

On the Continent he fared no better. Apart from individuals, the issues between Evangelical and Reformed proved to be too intractable, even without the diplomatic complications of the period. His long series of *Harmonies of the Confessions* and his correspondence all failed before the predominance of dogmatic differentials raised to the rank of theological essentials, and his efforts were branded by a court preacher as futile. Spener, almost alone, understood him "and manifested an increasing interest in Dury's work during the closing years of his career." Likewise the Quaker William Penn. In fact Dury was described by his biographer Benzelius: "Quackerus ille fuit ante Quackeros."

In the concluding chapter (X) Professor Batten has given his estimate of Dury and his failure, which "in the last analysis . . . were due chiefly to other men's failures in imagination and in sincerity." An inadequate theological training, or a contempt for theological subtleties, probably accounted for more. The recognition of Gustavus Adolphus and Oliver Cromwell that Dury's proposals were practical must be set against Laud's dismissal of the schemes as "visionary nonsense." The real trouble probably lay much deeper. Most Protestant theological developments in the seventeenth century—both in dogma and in polity—had become part of a mechanism of defense against either the Roman menace, manifest in the Thirty Years' War, or against the threat of successful rebellion, as in England in 1662, and so formed part of the picture of international diplomatic tension. The champions of Christian reunion or toleration—like Oliver Cromwell and William III—were opposed by legitimist conservatives in the interest of political stability. J. B. Bury once wrote an essay on the historical significance of Cleopatra's nose; there is ground for regret that Thomas Cromwell's sound instinct for Anglico-Lutheran unity was not matched by a shrewder insight into Henry VIII's connubial predilections. A century later, Dury suffered from being too late and too early, but "he did what he could." His instinct for a Catholic Protestantism has in these latter years been superseded by a Laudian approach, which promises to reveal parallel fundamental weaknesses of any attempt to substitute, for an ecclesiastical *Genossenschaft,* an ecclesiastical *Herrschaftsverband.*

Professor Batten has, in addition, provided not only an adequate bibliography, full notes, containing liberal extracts from Dury's correspondence, but also *A Trial List of the Printed Writings of John Dury,* and an index.

F. W. BUCKLER

The Path to Perfection, by W. E. Sangster, Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury, ©1943, pp. 214, $2.00.

Perfect Baptist generosity accords a Methodist the privilege of reviewing a book on perfection! It is, of course, John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection and the book is the author's thesis for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the University of London. It is therefore no tract but a well-documented study. After defining sin as, according to Wesley, a "wilful transgression of a known law" (p. 30, chap. ix), Dr. Sangster goes on to say that Christian perfection, as Wesley taught it, is freedom from wilful sin. Such a Christian made perfect (in love; see chap. x) would still be liable to infirmity, ignorance, and mistake, but not to sin. Yet such an experience, which Wesley preached from his twenties (even before his heart-warming experience at Aldersgate Street, from which most Methodists date the birth of their movement—May 24, 1738; see chap. xi) till his death (p. 25), Wesley himself not only never claimed but flatly denied: "I tell you flat I have not attained the character I draw" (to Dr. William Dodd, p. 31; cf. p. 163). When pressed for a testimony by Samuel Bradburn, he answered by quoting some poetical lines of aspiration—that and nothing more (p. 161). The truth is that Wesley, disciplinarian that he was, was less critical of others than of himself and was willing to accord to others what his own honest self-examination failed to detect (cf. pp. 87 f.). But can one assert the truth of something of which he has no certain experience?

Yes, he can. He can if, like Wesley, he is *homo unius libri.* Sangster makes an examination of Wesley's use of Scripture, particularly citing thirty texts, only one of which is from the Old Testament (Ezek. 36:24, 26, 29). Of all the biblical writings Wesley prefers I John, probably because it is so lavish with the present tense. His most surprising omission is Romans 6. It is to be noted that Wesley does not confine himself to texts bearing the word "perfect" in some form, though his "key text" is Matt. 5:48. There is obviously no space here to recapitulate or evaluate Sangster's study at this point. The reader is referred to chapters 5 and 6, his own knowledge of Greek, and Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch.* Clear it is that, from our point of view, Wesley was hampered by his proof-text method and his theological presuppositions (see chap. viii). Yet as between him and his contemporaries, he appears to have the better of the argument (p. 68).

The doctrine, nevertheless, gave Wesley much trouble. At one time tempted to give it up entirely (p. 78), always being criticised for it, even by his own brother Charles (pp. 57 f., 162), and finally resorting to the desperate expedient of saying it should not be pitched "too high" (pp. 58, 79), Wesley could not in loyalty to Scripture abandon it (pp. 34 f., 78 f.). It was clearly established in his mind even though in his life it was supported first by "works" and then, after 1738, by "faith," but never, as we have seen, fully implemented. Indeed, it is likely that Wesley's Catholic heritage may have something to do with it (surprising as this may seem to some: cf. p. 100), for Wesley's passion was for holiness, and the doctrine—despite the antinomian use made of it—was for its realization. Antinomianism, the snare of the pietist sects of the day, was Wesley's horror (pp. 101 f.) and in Christian perfection he imagined he found its match. Like the converted Paul, however, he remained debtor to his past, and continued to rely, consciously or unconsciously, on his never-repudiated disciplinarianism. Thus it is that in the Wesleyan parts of the present Discipline (significant word!) of the Methodist Church, there is not only the question asked of candidates for the ministry, "Are you going on to perfection?" but also the stressing of "the means of grace."

Is the doctrine of Christian perfection psychologically sound? Sangster gives a

chapter (xii) to an examination of Wesley's acquaintance with the eighteenth-century writers on philosophy and psychology and correctly shows him, as "a man of one Book" and minded in practical matters (p. 23) to be scant concerned with speculations as such. Yet he thinks Wesley's doctrine of perfection has elements of psychological soundness, particularly in Wesley's insistence that it be a "moment-by-moment" experience (p. 85; chap. xiii), and that sin lies in the will and hence not in the instinctive constitution of human nature, as more recent devotional writers have seemed to say (chap. xiv). But Sangster admits that Wesley also thinks of sin as a thing and does speak of its being destroyed (p. 82)—quite impossible conceptions to the modern understanding—and he goes far afield in modern psychology to show that victory over sin is only on the level of the conscious where the issue between good and evil, thrown out from the dark recesses of the mind, is still to be decided on the basis of perfect love (chap. xv; see pp. 72-76). It was unconscious desire, emerging in dreams, that caused Wesley's followers in perfection the greatest heart-searching (pp. 116 f.). Dr. Sangster does not hesitate to point out the prostitutions of the doctrine and experience in more recent days (pp. 135-140).

There remains but a restatement of the Wesleyan doctrine in terms meaningful for our day, and this Dr. Sangster does in the closing chapters of the book. To the term "Christian Perfection" he prefers "Perfect Love," and understands love to be thought and will, attitude and purpose, as well as feeling. It is, in short, Christlikeness (p. 152). Hence it is positive: not an absence of sin with holiness as the residual vacuum, but an active, aggressive goodness that goes beyond duty in glad service of God and man. Such love is more defensible as a divinely given experience than holiness (chap. xix). But in no case must there be public confession of sinlessness, despite the advice Wesley gave and never took himself (cf. p. 161), for it is too fraught with misunderstanding, danger, and the sin of pride (chap. xx). In addition, the Wesleyan doctrine must shed its otherworldliness (cf. pp. 89 f.) and become consciously social in content. No longer must sainthood be conceived as getting oneself safely into heaven, nor the salutary social consequences of religion be the unintended and accidental by-product of individualistic piety. Holiness, *i.e.*, wholeness, can ignore no area of life (cf. p. 182). For sin is social, and society as a whole needs to be saved.

The book is an interesting study. Even though one may want to question its theory here and there, he does not easily quarrel in these days with an author who shares his life with his people in bomb-shelters and "when the last incendiary [has] been put out and the last group of homeless people made welcome," fills "the hours of the vigil which [have] still to be kept by thinking on perfection." Dr. Sangster and Wesley's doctrine of perfection undoubtedly have hold of something valuable. The plea in the last chapter is well made and much needed. The church is indeed "living far below the New Testament offer and promise" (p. 193), and there is great necessity to make religion an experience that is real and effective. But one will be allowed to say that the Wesleyan doctrine of perfection is as potentially vicious as the claim of Christian Science to faith healing. It flings wide the door to hypocrisy if it does not actually propel the candidates through it (cf. p. 165). One may suggest that greater than the specific Wesleyan doctrine is the larger Methodist emphasis on religious experience as the one thing needful. The doctrine was an effort to capture and influence that experience. Whether it is still Scriptural (in the light of more recent scholarship) and still answers to religious need (in the light of the modern psychology of religion) are questions beyond the scope of this review and to the answer of which the reader of the book is invited to address his own mind.

CLINTON M. CHERRY

The Recovery of the Historical Paul, by Robert Martyr Hawkins, Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1943, pp. vii, 292, $3.00.

There are no two ways about it: this is either a very good book or a very bad book. I approached it with enthusiasm. The brief blurb on the jacket contains two sentences which seemed promising: "It maintains that the apparent confusion in Pauline thought is due to modification of what Paul wrote," and "Modified materials cohere with later parts of the New Testament." For years I have been becoming increasingly convinced that the Pauline letters, as we have them, have suffered some alterations and—to use a popular term—editing, and bear, so to speak, evidences of ecclesiastical revision. The work I have had occasion to do with Marcion simply heightened that feeling that what New Testament scholarship greatly needed was a truly critical, de-ecclesiasticised, text. Thus I approached Dr. Hawkins' volume with anticipation. And the opening chapter seemed reassuring. Certainly he was right in his thesis: ". . . this 'standard' interpretation of the life and work of Paul must be insistently challenged because of the progress that has been made in the knowledge of one of the twin pillars [*sc.* Acts] upon which our ideas of Paul rest, and because of progress which may be made in our knowledge of the other" [*sc.* the Pauline letters] (p. 6). Nor was his treatment of Philemon startling. This letter gets off easy. Only in verse 9 did he detect a gloss: the words, "being such a one as Paul the aged, and now a prisoner also of Jesus Christ," were regarded as perhaps "a scholion added by some lesser man to gild the lily." Neither the need nor the reason appeared to me convincing, but it was worth pondering. (I did feel pain that Dr. Hawkins had joined the League of the Lily Gilders.)

But when he turned in succession to Galatians, Romans, and the Corinthian correspondence, I found a rapidly developing dissatisfaction with the treatment. The several writings are mutilated beyond recognition. It is no question of the cautious isolation of occasional glosses: block after block, not infrequently chapter after chapter, are deleted on what appear to me totally unwarranted grounds. One example will suffice. The material from Romans which is rejected as un-Pauline addition is as follows: 1:2-4, 18-32; 2:2-10, 16; 3:9-18, 19b, 23-26; 4:4-8, 15, 17-22; 5:2b-21; 6:15-23; 8:17-25, 28-30, 34b, 38, 39; 9:10-23, 27-29; 10:6c, 7b 8b-10, 14-18; 11:2b-10, 17-32; 13:11-14; 14:9, 23; 15:1-13; 16:1-27. That is pruning with a vengeance. It is, I must confess, in my judgment utterly reckless and irresponsible hypercriticism. In theory, the method is to make Paul's self-consistent and crystal-clear gospel apparent. Thus when in two places Paul is found to contradict himself (or even seem to), his consistency is to be saved by removing the one or the other, even though the same emphasis is found again and again. And many of what seem to Dr. Hawkins inconsistencies and impossibilities in a letter to Rome would vanish, were he to recognize that this particular writing is far more a *confessio fidei* for all his converts than a real letter composed *de novo* for the church at Rome.

Dr. Hawkins dislikes much of the orthodox theology which has been anchored in Paul; so do I. But Dr. Hawkins apparently has not pondered two facts: first, that bad theology has been read into Pauline phrases and has led to deductions which Paul had not intended; second, that Paul may occasionally have thought and phrased himself in the first century in a way to give pain to sensitive souls today. Not so; if Dr. Hawkins disapproves the view, Paul would not have phrased it. The fact that in Rom. 2 Paul could mention "true Jews" and "praiseworthy gentiles" *proves* that Paul did not hold to the notion of the universal sinfulness of humanity: therefore Rom. 1:18-32 of course is a later un-Pauline gloss. Everything smacking

of predestination is excised; everything that suggests that Paul was an apocalyptist is pruned out: "The Lord is at hand" means "The Lord is near"—spatial, not temporal; his comment after excising "If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be anathema, Maranatha," is worth repeating: "It will seem unfortunate to some that this verse with its 'Maranatha,' which might be used as evidence both of the survival of Aramaic in the early church, and particularly in Paul, and of the apocalyptic expectation of the Lord's coming, must be denied to the apostle. Far better to give up both the Aramaism and the apocalypticism of the early church, and of Paul, than the sweetness of Paul's Christian spirit" (p. 201). And yet he can style "naïve"—this is a word he dearly loves—those who are unwilling to see Paul laid on this Procrustean bed. The fact that the presence of these numerous passages of a definitely apocalyptic cast in our text must be explained if they are post-Pauline never seems to occur to our author. What led some pious soul(s) to read them in at a time when such thought was going out of fashion? This is a rock on which many good ships have been wrecked.

Feminists, who think the apostle was a bit rough with them, will be delighted to know that the view of women "as intrinsically inferior to men is also un-Pauline" (p. 187). This is proved by Gal. 3:28 and by his kind interest in Euodia and Syntyche! In fact, this Corinthian section is "naïve," and there is "very little sense in the whole of the passage" (p. 188).

It would be possible to list dozens of other startling reconstructions, but it is fruitless. That Dr. Hawkins is irked by much bad theology is both obvious and commendable, that frequently his emphases on Pauline traits and insights are important and well put is true, and that again and again some of his strictures are worth pondering is to be recorded in gratitude; but to me, at least, the great part of the book appears shallow and unconvincing. To be sure, he reconstructs a Paul, but that that Paul is the first-century apostle I greatly doubt; rather he appears to have been evolved in a Nashville workshop. That a critical text of Paul's letters is sorely needed I am still convinced; but it will have to be produced in a much less jaunty and slapdash manner. Scissors are a valuable tool for any critic, but they are not the only tool. Perhaps this experiment will encourage some more sober and restrained efforts in the same direction. If so, it may be called "a fruitful failure."

MORTON S. ENSLIN

The Doctrine of the Trinity, by Leonard Hodgson, New York, Scribner, 1944, pp. 237, $2.50.

In this series of Croall Lectures delivered at Edinburgh in 1943, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford offers us a brilliant exposition and defense of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Contending that Christianity is "the message that God has entered into the history of this world for the purpose of restoring the image, of re-making our human nature after the pattern of the divine, of changing us beyond our capacity to change ourselves" (pp. 186 f.), he presents a life-centred interpretation of the Trinity. Too many Christians have regarded the trinitarian conception as cold logic, divorced from life, spun out of the feathery musings of impractical metaphysicians whose thoughts never root in the empirical realities of earth, history, or personality. On the contrary, our author stoutly insists that the trinitarian faith has its roots in empirical reality. God has spoken in deeds through the history of Israel, the prophets, and supremely "the incarnate life of Christ, the Word made flesh." In the latter God lived as man,

the Son discovering the Father's will and doing it through the Spirit. But the divine life did not end with Jesus. His followers also lived their life "in the Spirit." Thereby they gained the awareness that they shared in the same life which had dwelt fully in Christ while he was on earth. Thus it is clear that the doctrine of the Trinity originated not in philosophical speculation, but in that empirical evidence of God's activity which the early Christians found in Christ and in their own lives because of their adoptive sharing in the Spirit-sustained life of Jesus. Without the religious devotion of the first Christians there would have been no doctrine of the Trinity. The doctrine grew out of life, not out of *a priori* deliverances of reason. Such is a main contention of the author.

Another important thesis of the volume is that the Trinity consists of three Persons, each equally personal in the full and modern sense of that word. Professor Hodgson asserts that such a position is both empirically necessary and philosophically respectable. The empirical necessity arises out of the threefold experience Christians have of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The philosophical respectability of such a view grows out of the understanding that unity is not only of the mathematical type free from all internal complexity, but may also be of the internally constitutive type, wherein one finds a unity which, by virtue of its intense unifying power, draws together distinct elements in the whole. The human organism illustrates this latter type, since its unity consists of that force which holds together its component elements. Such is the type of unity which we find in the Trinity: a unity of "three elements perfectly unified in the Divine life, and each of these elements . . . itself a Person" (p. 95). Each of these elements, Professor Hodgson insists, in "a He, none is an it." He supports this thesis by showing that it is accepted by Augustine, Aquinas, and Calvin.

It is in his insistence upon the Trinity being three persons in the modern sense of the word that Professor Hodgson's position will draw fire from many Christian thinkers. The danger here is that to which the Cappadocian divines succumbed in the late fourth century with their formula of "one substance in three persons," through which they sought to stress at once both the oneness of the divine nature and the distinction of the persons. Three individual beings, they held, shared in a common substance. The three were as separate as Peter, James, and John who, while individuals, yet shared in a common humanity. Not a few people would get three gods out of such thinking, rather than one. It is this danger to which Dr. Hodgson's interpretation is susceptible. Certainly Christians in the Nicene-Augustinian tradition have thought of God as one personal being existing as Father, Son, and Spirit, rather than as three personal beings in the modern sense of the word. It seems to the present reviewer that this aspect of the book could stand much clarification and rethinking.

The last chapter is concerned with the relation of the doctrine of the Trinity to the problems of human solidarity and immortality. A higher society can emerge only as we take the internally constitutive unity of the Trinity as a pattern for embracing mankind's wide diversity in a unitary pattern. In relation to immortality, the trinitarian doctrine offers the ground for an individually personal future life of communion with God.

This is a volume for the mature student in Christian theology. It presupposes an acquaintance with the development of Christian doctrine down through the centuries. For all advanced students it will remain a treatise warranting consideration for many years to come.

GEORGE W. DAVIS

Sumerian Mythology: A Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium B.C., by S. N. Kramer, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1944, pp. xiv, 125, 20 plates, $2.00.

The clay tablets upon which this significant work is chiefly based were excavated at Nippur in Babylonia by the University of Pennsylvania in the course of four campaigns lasting from 1889 to 1900. Now after forty-four years part of that material has been copied and an outline of its contents published. Dr. Kramer visited the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul in 1937, where he spent twenty months copying one hundred and seventy Sumerian tablets from Nippur. Since 1939 he has worked continuously at copying and reading the unpublished Sumerian tablets in the Nippur collection of the University Museum in Philadelphia. Six hundred and seventy-five Sumerian literary pieces in this collection have now been copied and studied by Dr. Kramer. A great wealth of mythological material from ancient Sumer is made available for the first time.

The Sumerians were a highly cultured people who flourished in southern Babylonia from about 4000 B.C. to 2000 B.C. Their most important influence is seen in the introduction of the cuneiform system of writing and in the development of spiritual concepts and a mythology which influenced the culture of all the Near Eastern peoples including the Greeks and the Hebrews. The tablets discussed in this work were actually written about 2000 B.C., but they contain material which is much older in its composition. Dr. Kramer is probably justified in claiming that "our Sumerian literary compositions thus represent the oldest literature of any appreciable and significant amount ever uncovered." The Sumerian literature now available may be classified as to type of composition as epics, myths, hymns, lamentations, "wisdom." Each of these types, it is promised, will be considered in a separate volume giving the text and a translation.

The importance of this work is great for students of the ancient Near East and particularly for students of the Old Testament. It has long been recognized that much of the mythological material of the Old Testament was adapted from the Babylonia mythology. Now the antecedents of some of the Babylonian mythological patterns are becoming clear. Thus the student has the advantage of another stage for the study of literary evolution. Sumerian mythology is concerned with myths about the creation of the universe, the separation of the heaven from the earth, the organization of the universe. The myth of Emesh and Enten finds a close parallel in the biblical Cain-Abel story, a motif which appears again in the Sumerian myth involving Lahar, the cattle god, and Ashnan, the grain goddess.

The light which the Sumerian mythology throws upon the ancient Near Eastern story of the creation of man is significant. According to one of the biblical versions man was fashioned from clay. In the Babylonian epic (*enuma elish* vi) man was created from the blood of a troublesome god for the service of the gods. But according to a Sumerian poem, which is earlier by more than a millennium than the Babylonian and the Hebrew versions, man is fashioned of clay as in the biblical version. The purpose of his creation was to labor for the gods, as it was in the Babylonian account.

Dr. Kramer writes with enthusiasm—an enthusiasm entirely justified by the significance of the material which he has made available. The literature comes from an early period. Yet, "it cannot be sufficiently stressed that the Sumerian cosmogonic concepts, early as they are, are by no means *primitive*. They reflect the mature thought and reason of the thinking Sumerian as he contemplated the forces of nature and the character of his own existence. When these concepts are analyzed;

when the theological cloak and polytheistic trappings are removed . . ., the Sumerian creation concepts indicate a keenly observing mentality as well as an ability to draw and formulate pertinent conclusions from the date observed."

A translation of the Sumerian myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" is given. When one compares this with the later Babylonian version of the myth in which Ishtar takes the place of Inanna, he has a good example of the process of literary evolution. Dr. Kramer published a translation of this Sumerian myth in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* Vol. 85, No. 3, in 1942. In the present work there are but a few minor changes in the translation.

This is an important contribution to Near Eastern studies. Scholars in the biblical field will be genuinely grateful for the new evidence which Dr. Kramer has made available for a deeper understanding of the mythological pattern of the ancient world—a pattern which underlies much of the biblical literature.

JAMES B. PRITCHARD

Philosophies at War, by Fulton J. Sheen, New York, Scribner, 1943, pp. 200, $2.00.

In this time of upheaval and frustration a few people are genuinely religious; many resort to forms of superstition; a host are indifferent or agnostic; the majority appear to feel they can rely upon human resources. By and large, this is a faithless day.

Of course some wise men uttered warnings. Sorokin wrote of the germ of death in modern civilization; Hutchins revealed the elimination of metaphysics and theology from higher education; Greene exposed the rise of provincial education and the decline of culture; Wriston cautioned against weakness at the heart of government. Others claimed that a large part of the foundation of modern civilization consists of the dust of opinion, the quicksand of sensuousness, the beaches of scientism, and the drifts of national socialism, and indicated that the superstructure would collapse unless made to rest upon the solid truth of the reality of God, the spiritual nature of man, immanent ethical principles, and enlightened righteousness. But their voices scarcely penetrated the wilderness.

Now Monsignor Sheen reflects the superb insight and the moral courage of a prophet. In this book he minces no words in declaring that an enduring civilization must be erected upon a foundation of truth. His major pronouncements are timely, pertinent, and unassailable. His diagnostic and prescriptive language is so plain that the man of the street can understand it. If his eloquent appeal for a dynamic Christianity in political, economic, and social life and in international relations were read, as it should be, by millions of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, some of them would think, and—perhaps—a few would act.

This powerful book would, however, be much stronger if the author had included a chapter consisting of penitent confession and wise advice pertaining to the rôle of religious leadership itself. For informed Catholics and Protestants can well be thoroughly ashamed of the fact that, for many centuries, religious authorities presumed to condemn efforts at constructive thought and humanitarian endeavor. For example, the dogmatic opposition to science and technology doubtless restricted medical science for several centuries, cost millions of lives, provoked disrespect for religion, and contributed to the present mælstrom. If religious leaders had worked as long, as hard, and with as much "faith" and tolerance as have scientists, perhaps much of the present tragedy and confusion would not exist. One must not forget that the Good Samaritan had oil, wine, money, intelligence—and a kind heart.

A. C. REID

Form-Criticism of the Synoptic Healing Narratives, by Laurence J. McGinley, Woodstock (Md.), Woodstock College Press, © 1944, pp. viii, 165, $2.75.

This is a useful book. There have been many expositions and critiques of form criticism in general and of the work of Bultmann and Dibelius in particular; yet none of them does precisely what this volume attempts, namely, a study of the miracles of healing on the basis of the claims and contentions of this new discipline. Father McGinley is a Catholic and a Jesuit; it is thus not surprising that he is distinctly skeptical of this new school, which, as he sees it, is in direct consequence of the prevailing trend of "rationalist criticism." His criticism is severe: By their fruits ye shall know them. Form criticism contributes nothing to a knowledge of Jesus; its results are utterly negative—in the case of Bultmann, "savagely" so. Its contention that the gospels do not reveal Jesus but (only) later Christian thinking is utterly mistaken. Its notion that the gospels are congeries of independently framed units, arbitrarily assembled by editors, is vastly wrong. They who formed the tradition were, on the contrary, authors "who saw fit (*i.e.,* were inspired by God) to record only this part of all they knew about the Savior" (p. 26). At times his hand is a bit heavy: a categorical "No" is essentially his answer. He speaks—though without claiming it—with the authority of Mother Church. This, in fact, would be my most severe criticism. I quite agree with him that many of the contentions of his opponents are far from established and that not a few of them are very precarious; yet I doubt much the wisdom of expecting to establish that by stating it categorically. And in several cases, particularly with regard to the dates of the Synoptic gospels, the alleged fact that by A.D. 50 the formulative period of Synoptic tradition had closed, the relationship of the three gospels with the priority of the original Aramaic Matthew to Mark, I should be inclined to feel a categorical "No" to Father McGinley's easy assumptions as warranted as any of his to the form critics.

Though most critics, I fancy, will not feel that he has demolished form criticism, they will probably agree that he has given a readable and convenient summary of its contentions. In the opening chapter he gives an excellent survey of its rise and of its fundamental principles as developed and expanded by its leading proponets, Dibelius and Bultmann, with their several contentions, each of which, after carefully expounding, he proceeds to criticize. In the following two chapters he treats successively *paradigms* and *apothegms, novellen* and *miracle-stories.* Then in Chap. IV he turns to what he calls the "synoptic healing narrative," and discusses what appear to him the fundamental qualities of the some fifty-two such narratives he finds in our first three gospels. This is for the purpose of enabling the reader properly to answer the contentions of Bultmann and Dibelius that there are real analogies in the rabbinical and hellenistic stories, alleged by them as analogous. This chapter is clever and is not without value, but it appears to me again to presuppose as facts much that I would question. When the evangelist says, "He could work no miracle there beyond healing a few sick" (Mark 6:5), does this actually indicate "a voluntary limit" which Jesus set upon himself? I could wish that Father McGinley had concerned himself with the embarrassing phrase, "The power of the Lord was with him to heal" (Luke 5:17)—and its even more embarrassing implicates. Nor do I consider it scientifically sound to quote the Matthæan and Lukan variant of a Markan story in lieu of the Markan form with no apparent recognition that thereby new problems are being created. Furthermore, it is perhaps not surprising—it is nonetheless disquieting—to find Mark 16:19 ff. quoted as text, although on other pages he had referred to variant readings in the texts of the

gospels in a way to suggest that he was aware of the fundamentals of textual criticism. Actually, despite the scholarly reserve which, let it be said in praise, Father McGinley for the most part scrupulously preserves, one cannot help feeling that he is not really wrestling with a problem whose answer he hopes to glimpse. He knew the answer before he started. He is writing to reprove those who have gone astray, not as a fellow student joining in a common search. At least, for me it is difficult to escape that conclusion after such a revealing word as: "Inasmuch as the general historical validity of the Gospels is presupposed in this study, the credibility of the miracles in particular does not lie within our field of investigation . . ." (p. 87).

Chapters V and VI are styled "Rabbinic Analogies" and "Hellenistic Analogies." He has presented some interesting, if well-known, material here. Some twenty-one rabbinical stories and a large grist of Greek instances, ranging from the inscriptions found on the four stelai at Epidauros to literary dialogues preserved in such writers as Philostratus and Lucian, are well presented.

So far as these being the sources of the gospel stories, one may in general safely concede that a negative answer is warranted. But of course the form critic would not so contend. That some of them—though very different in treatment and externals—evidence similarities in motif and, to use his (or is it Bultmann's) not too happy phrase, "illustrate the common atmosphere," appears to me more probable than it does to Father McGinley—although by this I am far from going over to the form critics.

It appears to me that it would have been wise to have considered Old Testament stories of healing. In several such, unless I am mistaken, there are distinctly clearer similarities to the rabbinical and hellenistic tales; while not a few of the New Testament stories appear to be the more or less artificial and independent—that is, direct—development of those Old Testament stories. Then again, McGinley is quite right in suggesting that both Dibelius and Bultmann were more on the lookout for similarities shared by the gospel stories and their analogies than they were for dissimilarities. Our author properly tries to right the balance. It is not surprising that he tends at times to swing as far in the opposite direction. Elements which he stresses as characteristics of the non-Christian accounts, as, for example, praying and incantations, are to my mind far from absent in the gospel stories. It is not unnatural to overlook or minimize evidence that does not support one's contention.

It is encouraging to find a Catholic scholar interested to produce as moderate and restrained a volume on matters which one might reasonably feel he might have thought to be scarcely open to debate or worth writing about.

MORTON S. ENSLIN

The Historic Church and Modern Pacifism, by Umphrey Lee, Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury, © 1943, pp. 249, $2.00.

The argument is a vigorous defense of the right of the Christian to support his country in time of war. This brief popular survey of the Christian interpretation of war from Jesus to Kirby Page should prove helpful to thousands of troubled souls.

One wonders why mediæval Catholicism's philosophy of a "just war" inherited by Protestantism—"engaged in by legitimate authority, for a just cause, with a right intention, either the promotion of the good or the avoidance of a greater evil, and avoiding the use of means contrary to natural law"—was not played up.

The pages on the Baptists are confused and confusing and even self-contradictory,

so that the narrator appears to be not at all familiar with the origin of English Baptists within Congregationalism and with the Helwys-Murton schism directed against John Smyth, among other things over the latter's adoption of the Mennonite interpretation of the state. Here acquaintance with the revision of old-time theories of Baptist origins by Champlin Burrage and J. H. Shakespeare would have prevented error. And now the author might with profit turn to Winthrop Hudson's articles in *Church History* and in the *Journal of Religion* for better perspective on Quaker origins.

The lack of reference to the Hammonds' four volumes, namely, *The Village Labourer, The Town Labourer, The Skilled Labourer,* and *The Age of the Chartists,* and Hudson-Reckitt, *The Church and the World, III,* was surprising in the chapter on "The Evangelical Movement." For example, Cobbett in 1824 said: "The bitterest foes of freedom in England have been and are the Methodists. . . . Rail they do . . . against the West Indian slaveholders but not a word do you ever hear from them against slaveholders in Lancashire and Ireland, . . ." and Jabez Bunting added: "Wesleyanism is as much opposed to Democracy as it is to sin."

To discover the author's dependence upon Visser 't Hooft in the chapters on "The Social Gospel" and "Modern Pacifism" and no familiarity apparently with such books as S. L. Gulick's *The Fight for Peace,* Merle E. Curti's *The Peace Crusade,* and Devere Allen's *The Fight for Peace* was disappointing. These and other discussions of the peace movements in the United States would have modified the thesis of these chapters. Since Dr. Lee acknowledges that "pacifism" cannot be linked up with the "social gospel" prior to Rauschenbusch's death and since it is a well-known fact that it was present in vigorous form during the nineteenth century in American life, may not Visser 't Hooft have been mistaken in his judgment? How about American Barthians promoting pacifism prior to 1941? The largest denominations represented in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America have never been "pacifist," but surely this Council has been very socially minded. The principle of a "just war" is approved by millions who also believe in the social reconstruction of American life. Most religious education programs of the large nonpacifist churches include courses in social service. Indeed, the author himself reminds us that millenarian beliefs at Muenster transformed nonresistance men into fanatical pre-Hitler war lords. There was pacifism in England after World War I. So Thorndike's *Your City* is recommended for reading to supplement so superficial a research as Visser 't Hooft's rather overquoted *The Backgrounds of the Social Gospel in America.* The fatal mistake of the "social gospel" was not practical but historical! The solution proposed in Chapter IX for "modern pacifism" by the author is therefore found wanting and much too simple.

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN

Religion and the World Order, edited by F. Ernest Johnson, New York, Harper, 1944, pp. 223, $2.00.

The addresses contained in this volume were delivered before the Institute for Religious Studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City during the academic year 1942-43. The first four chapters, by Professors Johnson, Tillich, Weigle and Bishop McConnell, discuss the rôle of religion in connection with secularism, social change, religious liberty, and democracy. The next three lectures furnish surveys of proposals for reconstruction by Professors Van Dusen (a Protestant), LaFarge (a Roman Catholic) and Bokser (a Jew). The remainder of the book is given over to a discussion of the basis of reconstruction in connection

with special problems: politics (Professor MacIver), economics (Dr. Buell), culture (Mr. Lawrence K. Frank), education (Professor Counts), international law (Professor Eagleton), labor (Dr. Fitch), government (Professor Brunner), propaganda (Dr. Miller), and "lessons from the League" (Dr. Morley). The editor has also contributed a concluding summary.

Despite the stimulating diversity of opinion which one expects to find in a volume whose contributors include Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and what used to be called "free thinkers," a few characteristics apply to the book more or less as a whole. For example, there is general agreement that if a constructive principle of liberty and order is to be found beyond the Scylla of totalitarianism and the Charybdis of irresponsible atomism, it must be based upon an achievement of individual dignity and human community which has its basis in the Jewish-Christian tradition. The only serious exception to this generalization is to be found in Mr. Frank's lecture; despite his polite consideration for the religious affiliations of his audience, he unmistakably attacks in principle the notion of religious and ethical authority, and suggests spontaneous human autonomy as an alternative. Another point of agreement among the authors is a general recognition of the necessity for the use of force under the ægis of a world community and in conformity with universal principles of moral laws; and they recognize, in their several ways, that the feasibility of such a project will depend upon a moral and spiritual reorientation as well as upon economico-political instrumentalities.

The sharp differences which would have appeared if the participants had been present at a single discussion, instead of delivering their lectures serially, have to be guessed at by implication. Most of the theologians indicate a desire to find ways in which their religious and ethical convictions can be applied directly to concrete problems of reconstruction, without unduly departing from the purity of their divine origin. Most of the nontheologians present good causal analyses of the human forces at work in the shaping of social patterns, and then leave it to "religion," in a rather vague and tenuous fashion, to do what it can in influencing those forces.

For the most part, however, the addresses are so honest, informative, and "realistic" that one wishes maximum influence in the church and in the world for the kind of unfettered and constructive thinking they represent.

DAVID E. ROBERTS

The Ship of Fools, by Sebastian Brant, translated by Edwin H. Zeydel, New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. ix, 399, $5.75.

Fools, like the poor, are always with us. One of the popular and pleasing ways of dealing with them is to describe and define their foolishness; it is also the easiest way. Sebastian Brant in 1494 gathered over one hundred kinds of fools, put them on a ship and published *Das Narrenschiff*—one of the most famous books of its time. In spite of the many translations and adaptations since that time, this present volume by Zeydel is the first English translation ever to appear. The prologue and one hundred and twelve chapters have been done in rhyming couplets, which make generally for monotony, but occasionally for an aphorism or epigram.

Sebastian Brant of Strassburg was educated at the University of Basel and in 1484 was licensed to practiçe and to teach canon law. Later he became interested in literature and associated himself with Basel printers. He was "a typical fifteenth-century savant, a typical South German and a typical upper-class burgher . . . nervous and irritable, positive and dogmatic, a carping satirist . . ." (p. 7). An enthusiast for the Holy Roman Empire, especially Maximilian, he became a noted

forerunner of German humanism and was unsympathetic to any of the current ideas that were paving the way for the Reformation; he wished to conserve and strengthen the status quo throughout the Christian world. His book, a literary form of this attempt, was used by his friend Geiler von Kaisersberg in his pulpit in the Strassburg Cathedral for the preaching of one hundred and forty-two sermons in the vernacular. Introducing German literature into the stream of European letters, the book influenced other countries, notably France and England. "It played an important role in outmoding medieval allegory and morality and in directing literature into the channels of the drama, the essay and the novel of character" (p. 39).

Full of references to the Bible and the classics, it is notably unoriginal and obviously only a compilation; but it secures an effectiveness by its cumulative impressiveness and by an occasional compelling imagery. (Here one might raise a question: Are the apparent examples of the early use of "modern" phrases and sayings real or are they merely the result of the translator's adaptation into current English idioms?) All sins are reduced to folly, broad in scope. If one wished to classify them, it might be done as vicious or criminal offenses, insolence, riotousness, sloth, presumptuousness, and perversities. Or one might enumerate such typical chapters as Of Greed, Contempt of Holy Writ, Of Complacency, Noise in Church, Of Serenading at Night, Not Taking a Joke, Of the Decline of Faith, and Of Cooks and Waiters.

We have outgrown much of its counsel, written under the urgency to produce and retain a society of Brants, comfortable in philosophy and in the religion of the Roman Church. Only occasionally does the modern reader feel even the tepid outrage of the author; like him we are more often inclined to an aloof observation that glorifies our self-conscious superiority to the foolish vagaries of our fellow men. Yet, since we, too, cannot escape his annoying and irritating contacts with fools, so we cannot help entertaining the sense of relief with which we should welcome a modern *Narrenschiff*.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON

For We Have This Treasure, by Paul Scherer, New York, Harper, ©1944, pp. xii, 212, $2.00.

Is there anything very much new that can be said about preaching? Perhaps the best that one can do is to say the old convincingly and with individual emphases through the medium of one's own sincere personality.

Paul Scherer is preëminently a preacher, and he says so explicitly and implicitly. A sermon is for him a challenging adventure and a spiritual experience. One almost suspects it is his pastoral *summum bonum*. His Beecher Lectures for 1943 follow the mood and format of his sermons; biblical in origin, devotional in appeal, beautiful in expression. At first one feels they have created a new style for the series, but it may be rather that this is the old scriptural method of earlier times brought up to date and made vividly new and reliably real for our day. Certainly they illustrate an acceptable method of using the Bible, although not everyone may wish to use it so persistently and so uncritically.

The diction and phrasing are particularly noticeable and notable, colorful poetry and salty prose producing impressive images and compelling perspectives. There is an abundance of quotations from life situations and from literature. (Two or three of the latter are inaccurate.) But the author does well to confess to "being cursed myself with what some people say is a sort of knack for words and phrases and liking them so well that I have been known more than once to lay a sentence down

on an altar to the picturesque and without more ado cut its throat" (p. 196). He does more than that. He allows it to lead him into a weakness in argument and he becomes a little too aloof from the hard and real intellectual battle of those who are given to serious and sincere thinking that cannot be dismissed lightly with a clever phrase. Moreover, he does occasionally become a bit facetious with an apparent unawareness of the realities of striving or of the partial experience that has not yet encompassed the whole as prescribed by Paul Scherer.

With it all, however, one comes from a reading of the book with a mind full of engrossing and stimulating ideas expressed in penetrating phrases and images; with a heart encouraged by contact with an excellent apologia for preaching in our day. Those haunted by the spectre of having to say something Sunday after Sunday may learn that a cultured minister who recognizes the pulpit proprieties of action and speech is strangely moved by the privileged sense of having something to say.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON

Music for the General College Student, by Edmund V. Jeffers, New York, King's Crown Press, 1944, pp. x, 213, $2.50.

The question of music study has occupied the attention of the American liberal arts college official only in comparatively recent years. A controversy has arisen concerning the merits of the vocational versus the avocational approach to the subject. Mr. Jeffers provides us with a background for the understanding of this controversy by examining 1. the manner in which music teaching has developed in the American college to date, 2. the influences shaping this development, and 3. the ideas and ideals expressed by various authorities on the subject. Thus *Music for the General College Student* is organized in three sections with emphasis on the historical approach. In addition, a quite weighty appendix presents a detailed examination of the development of the music curriculum of several representative colleges.

As stated above, the approach is historical. Mr. Jeffers presents us with illuminating and well-documented subject matter. The opening chapter with its discussion of musical practice in connection with the religious worship of Puritan New England brings to mind a curious (partial) parallel with the early Roman church. In both instances congregational singing had deteriorated to the point where clergy and laymen of musical sensibilities were distressed. The New England divines urged instruction in singing as a remedy. The Roman church, however, at Laodicea in A.D. 380, placed most of the musical activity in the hands of a trained minor clergy drawn (appropriately) from the rank of canon.

Despite academic preoccupation with ministerial training in colonial times, secular influence grew apace and the year 1808 saw the founding of an instrumental club by students at Harvard College. Known as the Pierian Sodality, this organization ultimately became a full-fledged orchestra and is still in existence. Its influence on the musical life of the college and the community has been by no means inconsiderable. One wishes that Mr. Jeffers had inquired (parenthetically) into the influence, educational or otherwise, of the music-loving Moravian Community. There is evidence, for example, that the instrumental parts of the symphonies of Franz Joseph Haydn arrived in Pennsylvania at a very early date.

The past hundred years have witnessed a slow growth in the teaching of college music. As previously stated, two trends, opposite in aim, are discernible. Mr. Jeffers has a predilection—not too pronounced—for the cultural emphasis. The past hundred years have also witnessed the enormous expansion of public secondary education the impact of which on many colleges has, musically speaking, been less than one would

expect. The various explanations offered—and duly noted by the author—boil down for the most part to the pot calling the kettle black. Certainly a fundamental difficulty has been a conspicuous lack of rapprochement between the college and the high school. Given the existing organization, a prime necessity to any coördinated course of study would appear to be agreement as to what constitutes preparatory work. Its general assignation to precollege student effort followed by proper college entrance recognition ought not to be impossible *provided* the liberal arts colleges agree among themselves as to what standards and practices are to be.

Quite apropos of the foregoing, Mr. Jeffers quotes an occasional authority as believing that certain phases of college music study are properly the sphere of the high school. Considering, for example, the well-nigh universal diffusion of good music, it becomes difficult to understand just why the fashioning of musical taste—that goal of all college appreciation courses—should be so long deferred. Can it be that there exists suspicion of the high-stepping, baton-twirling section of secondary school music pedagogy—of which a branch, by the way, is said to reside on the campus? Or is it the administrator whose taste could stand a little upgrading? This particular problem seems to have lively possibilities. Did not an ancient poet-philosopher pronounce the truism *de gustibus non est disputandum?*

The question of talent versus mental alertness will enter more and more into the postwar educational philosophy if recent utterances of President Conant of Harvard are any guide. Insofar as music is concerned, a consideration of talent is, in the opinion of the reviewer, more apt than not to lead the colleges in the direction of undergraduate professional training in some form or other. Where special talent is *not* involved, *i.e.*, for the general college student, the building of a cultural program of music study is largely—and very probably will remain largely—a question of available time. And the available time depends upon how a given college faculty interprets the term *education* or *liberal education* if you prefer. Thus the future learning experience of the "general college student" will depend a priori upon the formulation or reformulation of this fundamental concept.

Reflecting upon the subject matter of *Music for the General College Student,* the department executive finds himself in general agreement with the summaries and conclusions of Mr. Jeffers. But he then summons his teachers and, pending the millennium, counsels the scissoring of department philosophy to fit majority faculty opinion on the one hand or administrative precept on the other.

The appendix which closes the main argument of the book would gain were it slightly more inclusive. It seems a pity not to have examined in detail a representative college from so significant an area as tax-supported higher education. An occasional reader will ponder this omission while perusing the very full bibliography with which Mr. Jeffers concludes a timely volume.

WALTER HELFER

The Legacy of the Liberal Spirit, by Fred Gladstone Bratton, New York, Scribner, 1943, pp. xi, 319, $2.75.

"The legacy of the liberal spirit in its organized forms of political democracy, civil liberties, and religious freedom is the way of life that is at stake in the present world struggle." ". . . The word 'liberal' as herein used refers to a way of life which emphasizes the primary importance of the person, the freedom of the individual, free press, free speech, constitutional government, tolerance, the scientific spirit of inquiry, the rational outlook, social reform, popular education, a relativistic philosophy, and an ethico-social religion" (p. viii). On the basis of this reading of the

times and this conception of liberalism, the author proposes to give us a sort of history of civilization and the making of the modern mind. The movements which he sketches in their liberal thrust are: early Christian radicalism, Renaissance humanism, French rationalism, American deism, New England Unitarianism. The individuals who are treated as the incarnation of the liberal spirit are: Origen, Erasmus, Voltaire, Paine, Parker, Darwin, and John Dewey. The last chapter treats of Twentieth Century Naturalism, and the new type of liberal collective organization for economic and political freedom, as demanded by a world in which the old type of individualistic liberalism is now impossible.

Naturally on such a broad platform and definition a considerable amount of interesting material is gathered together, and interesting aspects of these movements and persons keep one reading. Much of it is very worth-while. A good bibliography gives both primary and secondary sources.

The book is open to considerable adverse criticism. It bears the marks of haste, is sketchy, and the sentence structure is sometimes careless. On the basis of such a broad and straggling definition of the liberal spirit, it becomes possible for the author, like a clever politician, to claim for "the liberal spirit" practically every good and prized possession of the present-day period. At the same time all that is evil is neatly packed in "bundles for the orthodox church and the awful forms of authoritarianism." In the author's judgment the church has always been wrong, and the history of Western Christianity has been one long-drawn-out tragedy. The ethic of the author is in some spots dubious, as *e.g.*, when Erasmus is praised for the very fact that he would take no sides in the Reformation. The author can espouse without hesitation the natural religion of the Enlightenment and of American deism, and with rapid and facile strokes reduce Jesus to a pure humanitarian. He endorses a philosophy of relativism, accepts John Dewey as the supreme philosopher, and finds nothing but the seeds of authoritarianism in Barth, Berdyaev, T. S. Eliot, Paul Elmore More, and Christopher Dawson. Yet before he is through he can deprecate the "old liberalism" that has been naughty enough to make necessary the total reorganization of society into a "liberal totalitarianism."

JOHN E. KUIZENGA

Origins of Academic Economics in the United States, by Michael J. L. O'Connor, New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, $4.25.

For the clergyman or layman interested in the general topic of the changing rôle of the clergy this book will prove to be excellent (though not light) reading. It deals with the manner in which the teaching of political economy in the Northeast was practically dominated by the clergy and their texts until well after the Civil War. In the South there was a different trend. Then came the forces of democracy and secularization and the end of clerical control.

In contrast to the South, practically every northern college was founded by a religious group. Every colonial college president was a clergyman. The first board of trustees of Benjamin Franklin's Academy, which later became the University of Pennsylvania, were all laymen, but in keeping with tradition Franklin chose a clerical head in 1754. He was the Reverend William Smith, a Scotch Presbyterian.

The seventeenth-century New England, as every student knows, was a theocracy, and most undemocratic according to our present ideas, at least. "The economy was controlled by the Church and the State, working as a unit. The identification of the education with ministerial training and the domination of education by the upper classes helped to continue the theocracy into the eighteenth century."

The colleges of the colonial period, and for the most part of the last century, were small with about one or two hundred students. The faculty consisted of about a half-dozen ministers. The president, chosen from the "gentleman" class, was the predominant figure. His main job was to raise money usually from the merchant class. He often taught moral philosophy and political economy. The latter subject was always given a completely moral and religious tone.

"These subjects," writes O'Connor, "were the president's partly because he was, relatively speaking, a man of affairs, functioning for the pattern of social life which the college represented. As such, he gave the seniors advice and instruction on carrying out the religious, social, and economic program essential to the northern social system. Some northern president, such as Timothy Dwight of Yale, 'Pope of Connecticut,' were in their own right leaders of prominence."

Out of the social milieu of the time there arose a clerical school of political economy, dominant in the Northeast, at a period when sectionalism was rampant. "The elite of the Northeast then consisted of merchants, bankers, and their professional associates. On the whole the teachings of the clerical school developed in harmony with the needs and interests of this elite. Moreover, just as the merchant-capitalist order of the Northeast made important contributions to the general social pattern of present-day America, so did the clerical school contribute significantly to the dominant traditions of political economy."

It was particularly necessary that political economy and morality be in harmony, because the clergy and the merchant-capitalist classes were in close association. "Prospective ministers had to learn in what form and within what economic areas it was correct to apply the teachings of Christ." After all, Christian institutions had to be supported financially as well as morally. The presidents of these institutions had to raise money and they usually taught the courses of political economy. Since the state governments had ceased to offer very great support when the system of the established church was abolished, the only source of revenue was the class of men who were active in the practical world of affairs which the political economists attempted to describe (not analyze!). Political economy was a rationalization of the existing social order. Among the characteristics are "the stress on the simplicity of the basic philosophy and of political economy itself, the devoutness, the recurrent references to the paradoxical, the preoccupation with generalized natural law, and the comparative inattention to factual investigation and scientific research."

The principal textbook in the Northeast from 1837 until the sixties was the *Elements* of the Reverend Francis Wayland, president of Brown University. It is, according to O'Connor, "an organized brief for the dominant figures in the northeastern social order." The wealthy are praised, and, in general, the poor are depicted as victims of their own laziness and vicious habits. The economic function of the clergyman is implied in the question, "If a clergyman persuade the people in a village to become temperate, honest, industrious, and frugal, who were before intemperate, dishonest, lazy, and prodigal, is this of any economical benefit to the community?"

Yet, in spite of all this tie-up between the clergy as teachers of political economy and the masters of the capitalistic system, the author maintains that the ministerial professors "displayed some facility in adjusting their views to the practical needs of society. In the social science field the clerics coöperated more-or-less gracefully in the development of an increasingly secular trend. Stages in the shift of viewpoint are indicated in the change from a strictly religious ethics to moral philosophy, then to political economy, then to economics."

Though not entirely devoted to the subject, this work is one more in an ever

growing list of studies of the relationship of organized religion to the economic order. Max Weber, in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, and R. H. Tawney, in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, have made brilliant contributions to this field. Dr. O'Connor's book admirably fits into the general pattern and is certainly a highly commendable contribution.

RAY H. ABRAMS

The Popes' New Order, edited by Philip Hughes, New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. viii, 331, $2.50.

As an offering at the altar of the postwar planners these analytical summaries of a selection of thirty-eight papal encyclicals, letters, and addresses will substitute for the texts of the papal utterances. Preceding each summary is a brief introduction by the author. The index is arranged so as to expedite reference to appropriate papal teachings on specific subjects, such as factory life, faith, family, housing, and labor. The book bears the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Spellman. Those familiar with the proclivity of the pious for asseveration will not expect to find a chart for the "new order," although the author states: "Here, in fact, is 'the word of God' for us in matters social, and in all that field where politics touch on morals" (p. v).

The summarized communications are arranged in nine chapters, and deal with problems relating to social institutions: church, state, family, education, capitalism, and internationalism. The earliest encyclical chosen is the inaugural pronouncement of Leo XIII (1878-1903), *Inscrutabili* (1878). This pope initiated a positive effort to bring the Roman Catholic Church into better relations with other institutions. There is little imprecating and anathematizing. The tone usually is conciliatory, as if written to disobedient adolescents rather than to bishops. Social evils are diagnosed, causes assessed in terms of disobedience to papal authority, and the services of the holy office solicitously proffered as the remedy.

The "new order" seems to come principally from Leo XIII and Pius XI (1922-1939). The former was distinctly a reform pope, and his *Rerum Novarum* (1891), while condemning socialism, revised the social teaching of the Roman Catholic Church to a position more favorable to organized labor. Pius XI commemorated this encyclical in his *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), and Pius XII (1939-) did likewise in a radio address on June 1, 1941. Through *Immortale Dei* (1885) Leo XIII moved toward better relations with republican forms of government, especially the Third Republic of France, by stating that there was "no condemnation of any particular form of government" (p. 99). Concerning marriage and the family, however, his *Arcanum* (1880) is one of several papal encyclicals which have placed the modern Catholic in an awkward position with respect to the contract of marriage, birth control, and the education of his children. It is worthy of note that the author includes no encyclical from Pius X (1903-1914), and makes but one reference to him in the entire volume (p. 226). Certainly his *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (1907), the great antimodernist encyclical, has had a decidedly disruptive effect upon Catholic religious studies, and thereby retarded an intelligible "new order."

The insatiable appetite for power of the modern state provides Catholicism and Protestant denominations with some common grievances. The techniques of Catholic action under persecution are brought out in encyclicals of Pius XI on situations in Mexico, Italy, and Germany. They could be studied with profit by secretaries of Protestant denominations. Most Protestant readers of *The Popes' New Order* will find themselves in disagreement at least on the following: the nature of the state (p. 67), the rights of the ruler (p. 80), liberty of worship (p. 116), the nature of

Christian marriage (p. 170), sex instruction (p. 200), birth control (p. 182), and education (pp. 195, 200).

The last chapter is entitled "The International Problem." One gets the impression that the voice of the pope in international affairs has been weak. Is it too early to ask if the pope, or a representative of any religious body, will be allowed to participate in the next round of peace conferences? Whose new order shall we have next?

RAYMOND L. HIGHTOWER

The Vatican and the War, by Camille Cianfarra, New York, Dutton, 1944, pp. 344, $3.00.

A correspondent of the New York *Times* in Italy 1935-1942 here reviews rather sympathetically the relations between the Vatican and the Axis. The interpretation is sometimes naïve, and the ground has been traversed in many books; yet his personal experiences lighten up the landscape.

Now and then the apologist must labor hard to explain the vacillations in Vatican diplomacy. A case in point is the Vatican's friendship with Japan, for the United States had registered a strong protest. The pope did it to become a connecting link between Washington and Tokio (p. 288). Pius XI supported the Italian conquest of Ethiopia because Italy had need for expansion and for defense which made that atrocious war a "just war"; so a Catholic cardinal called the Ethiopian war a "Catholic crusade." But primarily the Vatican endorsed that war to obtain a new Catholic missionary field (p. 42). In Spain, the pope backed Franco because the dictator was "defending the Church in Spain" (pp. 99, 107, 271).

The author neglects the involvement of the Vatican in Latin-American countries. This is regrettable, since all Americans are vitally interested in whether Argentina is becoming the Germany of the Western Hemisphere (see, for example, "Argentina and the Axis," *Scottish Rite News Bulletin,* July 20, 1944, p. 4).

The serious reader on finishing this survey of Vatican-Fascist relations is convinced both of the contradictions in Vatican diplomacy and of the weaknesses of an international church. The Austrian Catholic press turned Nazi overnight, Austrian Catholic bishops urging the faithful to vote for *Anschluss* and Cardinal Theodore Innitzer urging all church bells to ring out loudly in support of the approaching plebicite. For the individual Catholic, the narrator states, is always first of all a citizen and only after that a Catholic. He prefers the welfare of his country to that of his church. When the Roosevelt administration asked the pope for a declaration to encourage Catholics throughout the world to support Great Britain and Russia to help solidify prodemocratic feeling, the pope after meditating upon the question for five days replied in the negative. Why? The Vatican cannot take sides because "there are Catholics in every one of the belligerent nations. A papal condemnation of one side would without doubt have serious consequences among the Catholics of the power or powers condemned. It would not only assume an extremely important political significance, but it would be used by the nations exonerated from the accusation as a powerful means of propaganda to undermine the morale of their enemies" (p. 275).

The non-Catholic criticism of the papacy for protesting the bombing of Rome but showing no equal interest in the fate of churches in allied countries is met by the rejoinder that the Vatican had up to January, 1943, appropriated $50,000 to restore *Roman Catholic Churches in England* (p. 301).

What, then, is the key to Vatican diplomacy? ". . . the only objective of Vatican

policy . . . is that of spreading Catholicism and obtaining for its religious bodies favorable working conditions. True, this aim sometimes coincides with those of governments that are totalitarian in character, and therefore, in contrast with the fundamental concepts of democracy, . . . What is often forgotten is that the church is willing to collaborate with any government that will ensure it the possibility of carrying out its apostolic mission . . ." (p. 271)—what revealing words! Fascist-Germany, Fascist-Italy, Fascist-Franco, Shinto-Fascist Japan may then be backed until the interests of the Roman Catholic Church are damaged? Would evident defeat for the Axis not be a factor then to a swing in the direction of the democracies? In the eleven-point memorandum of the Vatican against Hitler, apparently only Nazi religious policy counts: 1. state monopoly of the education of youth, and exclusion of religious teaching; 2. racial laws which, especially in their sanction of sterilization, are in complete contrast with Catholic principles; 3. methodical confiscation of ecclesiastical property under the pretext of patriotic and national needs; 4. absolute suppression of freedom of Catholic Action activities; 5. abolition of the freedom of the press and suppression of most of the Catholic newspapers and periodicals; 6. constant anticlerical campaign of the Nazi press; 7. trials against the clergy and religious orders for alleged immoral practices and for the exportation of funds needed for missionary work; 8. systematic atheist and neopagan propaganda by exponents of Nazi policy (Goebbels, Rosenberg); 9. persecution of the episcopate and clergy, such as attacks against Cardinal Faulhaber, and the confinement of priests to concentration camps; 10. application of racial laws, and pitiless anticlerical persecutions in Poland, Austria, Bohemia, and Yugoslavia; 11. political pressure on Italy to obtain adoption of antiracial and anticlerical policy (p. 293).

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN

The Voice of Norway, by Halvdan Koht and Sigmund Skard, New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. x, 313, $3.50.

In the preface (pp. vii and viii) the authors say, "We do not intend to present in this book a complete picture of the political and intellectual rise of Norway. We have chosen to take as our standpoint two fundamental ideas basic of all Western civilization, those of law and liberty. . . ." This purpose they have maintained, and the result is the story of Norway in terms of a human adventure in spiritual contentment.

Considered politically, the story is of a ninth-century independent kingdom that lost its independence in the fourteenth century upon union with Denmark and Sweden, regained it again at Eidsvoll on May 17, 1814 (Norway's national festival, Liberty Day), and continued, until its conquest by Germany, in progressively increasing stages of democracy.

Sociologically, Norway began with society as the basic ruler and judge. Material progress came during the period from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, and the rise of a nobility marked the fifteenth century. This was followed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the uprising of the farmers until, in the eighteenth century, the free farmer came to stand in the centre of the national tradition. At the beginning of the nineteenth century all classes were demanding liberty, and Norway experienced a growth in democracy and religious freedom. The cooperative movement, begun in 1870, grew to a point where important centrals were recognized as public institutions. Industrialization produced unions in the 1880's, since which time Norway has been stirred by struggle and conflict in its economic life. The Labor party grew rapidly and a Labor government was founded in 1935. At the outbreak

of the present war, "The Norwegians were far from being satisfied with the social organization and the material improvements they had achieved. They were still cheerfully straining all their forces to build up a society corresponding to their ideals of freedom and law and offering conditions of life worthy of a nation of brothers . . ." (p. 109).

Through all the telling of this story one theme is kept dominant: the supremacy and the dignity of the "Law." In this spirit Koht has told the history of Norway under the indicative title "Free Men Build Their Society."

Sigmund Skard's section of the book is called "Life Unfolds in Literature." Norwegian literature begins with the *Edda,* those simple but profound expressions of the wisdom and life of the world in the form of proverbs, advice, and dicta that grow out of the experience of the human race. The sagas carry on the tradition and style of the *Edda* in their relation of the histories and achievements of the kings and their ancestors, paving the way for the national historians.

The introduction of Christianity brought a new form of literature: in Norway devotional prose and in Iceland religious poetry. In contrast to the previous warlike literature it was to grow into a new form of Norse culture, the "court literature"—softer, freer, idealistic, and imaginative. With the beginning of the fourteenth century, this stream went underground, inactive but not dead, to reappear and bring to the fore the great names by which Norwegian literature is best known.

Ludwig Holberg, who in one year wrote a series of fifteen comedies, became the founder of the Norwegian stage and is considered by Norwegians and Danes to be the father of their literature. Henrik Wergeland followed, a romanticist, yet close to real life, prolific, broad in his interests, simple and basic in philosophy, and essential in religion. Best known of all is Henrik Ibsen, moved by a desire to awaken the nation and make it think great thoughts. He believed that the crucial problem of human existence was the conflict of law and freedom, to be faced in the inexorable light of eternal moral principles. His early dramas were of the battle within the individual for the right to live and to exercise the freedom of ethical choice. His later dramas turned more toward a sympathetic understanding of the greater importance of the individual himself. Last of these great writers was Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, a man of great love and a feeling for human fellowship. His optimism, his love of life, his healthy coolness and manly balance have made him "the chief God of Norway."

Here is "the voice of Norway," a voice strong and vibrant with a deep concern for the "Law" and for the public assembly called the "Thing." History and literature bear a single witness to a people of free spirit, relating their individualism to the eternal concept of a central entity that is life and is happiness.

Perhaps the spirit and message of the whole book can best be summed up in the words of Nordall Grieg, in a song for children of occupied Norway: "We will be strong, even hard. But inside our strength we have a soul, we have a peace, we have a soil to cultivate. We have a land where the mountain wind goes pure and free in the starlight; and if there is hatred in our minds, it is because we love" (p. 296).

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON

People, Church and State in Modern Russia, by Paul B. Anderson, New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. vii, 240, $2.50.

In content and in point of view the book repeatedly suggests a major experiment in a bacteriological laboratory, as reported by an observant technician well acquainted with the moods and motives of the operators though holding to another

school of thought. For the author takes the stand of such a technician as he watches millions manipulated by the will of doctrinaires who have at last obtained the material and means for an experiment that shall test, and they believe will establish, the realistic worth of their philosophy and of its method.

Paul Anderson is a technician in that he is experienced in the hieratic mode of religious expression as an Episcopalian, a denomination cognate to the Russian Orthodox Church, yet he is likewise versed in the personal, individualized mode of religion as secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations; he is observant in that he has spent years of residence in Russia from the days of the Kerensky Revolution, and was there conversant with clergy, war prisoners, peasants, philosophers, students, and members of the communist party, and then, at the opening of this war, became managing editor in Paris of the Russian Y.M.C.A. and director of *Les Editeurs Reunis.*

Coolly observant, confident of the worth of our religious and social sense of values and meanings, yet aware of our needs as well as of our resources, of our weaknesses as well as of our strength, he is well worth our respect as he notes the evidence from this immense experiment in Hegelian thesis, antithesis, and synthesis which the Marxists have set in action.

He documents the evidence, remarking upon its comparative paucity, with also its aggravating inaccessibility in several important instances for those unskilled in the Russian tongue. He cites the earlier Lenin constitutional position (freedom of religious belief and of private devotions) and the later and liberalizing Stalin interpretation (freedom of public worship); he quotes the arguments and views of ecclesiastical authorities, Orthodox and otherwise, in relation to governmental rulings and attitude; he records events, presents statistics on occasion, objectively indicates interpretations, potentialities, modes, and methods.

The effect is history of the Thucydidean order—such thoroughness of available data as may enable the facts to speak directly to the reader for themselves.

He manifestly confronts the challenge, as a scholar and as a Christian, of the Marxist assumption that its atheistic philosophy is "the summa of all other philosophies" competent to grasp both intellectually and dynamically the inner dialectic of the historic processes. To report for us the operation of this dialectic as he observed it is the purpose of this volume; and so well does he report the circumstances and the evolutionary movement thus far that one beholds a gradual emergence of lofty aspirations, in fact recognises a paradox of compulsory development of liberty to aspire toward a life of service which at length may prove to be a more perfect freedom achieved through balanced interpenetration of realisms and idealisms.

A volume, unexpected in its purport probably, that discloses a hope for things to come.

JOHN C. SCAMMELL

The Tragedy of European Labor: 1918-1939, by Adolf Sturmthal, New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. xii, 389, $3.75.

In the discussion of postwar policies what part is labor going to have? Much of the current planning for the world that is to be completely neglects this important aspect of social living. Professor Sturmthal is not an armchair philosopher grinding out a treatise on the importance of labor in the social structure, but a trained observer of the European scene, a newspaperman with many contacts with key people. Out of the richness of his experience he writes about the manner in which European

labor failed in its opportunities and responsibilities in those years between World War I and World War II. He raises many questions about the whole labor movement after this war is over.

In general he believes that "the root of the breakdown of European democracy is its failure to integrate the social groups with their conflicting interests into a functioning industrial society. . . . The crisis of European democracy was a social crisis. It expressed the disintegration of a society which failed to solve its vital economic and social problems." While labor was strong enough to block the smooth functioning of the social institutions, it was not strong enough or sufficiently constructive to rebuild society. Hence the stalemate of conflicting social forces which was followed by democratic disintegration.

One of his main contentions is that labor groups have tended to become provincial pressure groups rather than strong politically-minded organizations. They fail to see beyond their own narrow horizons; the world is never seen in perspective. Labor, he contends, "has to face its political responsibility as a powerful part of the nation if democracy and free labor organizations are to survive."

The author thinks that American labor may have considerable influence on Europe after the war, since the American trade unions with their approximately ten million members "represent the strongest freely organized labor force in the world." The amount of such influence will depend upon the degree of political maturity of American labor and its awarenses of its responsibilities.

This is a sober book, and timely. The way in which human groups, because of internal dissension, petty strife, and irreconcilable conflicts, lose their influence, disintegrate, and disappear from the face of the earth is an old story. Largely because of these factors European labor, in the fascist countries, while not completely annihilated, was for all practical purposes rendered powerless for constructive action. It "missed the boat." It is to be hoped that someday the author will produce a book on the contrasting picture in Soviet Russia.

RAY H. ABRAMS

In Quest of a Kingdom, by Leslie D. Weatherhead, Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury, ©1944, pp. 268, $2.00.

Anyone who has stood in line in front of the City Temple, London, on a Sunday morning or evening, hoping that he is not too late to be admitted to the service of worship, and has listened to a mind-quickening and heart-warming sermon by Leslie D. Weatherhead opens a new book by him with pleasant anticipations. The City Temple was completely destroyed in one of the attacks on London several years ago, but the voice of Prophet Weatherhead is still heard around the world. When the Temple was reduced to rubble, the vicar of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Anglican) offered the use of his own house of worship to Dr. Weatherhead, and there the latter has continued his ministry.

This new book, its author says, is an attempt to help its readers to a clearer understanding of what Jesus meant by the phrase "the kingdom of heaven" or "the kingdom of God." Certainly he is fully aware of the concepts that were prevalent in the days of Jesus, but he prefers Shafto's definition: "the kingdom of right relationships," as expressing best the ideal for modern life. "The regime of love" he also likes. Later he affirms that "the idea of eternal life in the Fourth Gospel is the same idea as that of the kingdom of heaven in the first three." Therefore "entering into life is entering into the kingdom of heaven," he thinks. With these basic assumptions he examines and attempts to interpret as many as eighteen parables of Jesus. In this

attempt he employs simple illustrations from history or life today on almost every page, and many an apt quotation. One finds the volume easy reading, but it should be read thoughtfully.

The author takes liberties occasionally in matters of exegesis, and rather frequently gives play to imagination, but on the whole his treatment of the parables is enlightening and stimulating. Again and again this reviewer felt that the message was for him, and perhaps there is no better proof of the value of a book than a reader's feeling "it found me."

One discovers many striking sentences, which are usually amplified. "Official religion, because of the superiority it engenders, has always been the greatest enemy of the kingdom of heaven." "We usually must learn how to get out of Christ's way." "The nation that sets itself up arrogantly to dominate others, to seek only its own ends, is bound to come down in utter destruction." "First become leavened yourself."

A helpful study of the parables of Jesus, in an attempt to apply them to life today.

JAMES H. FRANKLIN

Men of Maryknoll, by James Keller and Meyer Berger, New York, Scribner, 1944, pp. 191, $2.00.

Maryknoll, a Roman Catholic school overlooking the Hudson River at a point near Ossining, N. Y., was founded in 1911 with the approval of Pope Pius X to train American young men for service as missioners in distant lands, and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The volume is a recital of stirring adventure and heroic acceptance of what ofttimes was unavoidable hardship, with fearlessness in the face of peril on the part of Maryknollers in ten of the "hot spots" of recent days.

One cannot read the story of these missioners in leper colonies, in invaded and devastated sections of China, in the foxholes of the Philippines, in Stanley Prison at Hong Kong, in the jungles of South America, and in Japan at the time of Pearl Harbor, without being grateful for the unselfishness of missionaries of all denominations in these times that have called for the greatest devotion, although the reader may not always agree with some of the theological implications or statements or procedure, and may feel that the authors employ unnecessarily dramatic language. However, the unadorned features of the story are heart-stirring, and one wishes that multitudes might read the book.

Most of the Maryknollers whose exploits are recited were reared in plain, average American homes and were inured to a measure of privation which had encouraged resourcefulness and initiative under unfavorable conditions. Their early training helped to make them self-reliant when circumstances threatened the safety of themselves or those to whom they ministered. They were practical men who were quickly responsive to human need and apparently, in most cases, appreciative of the spirit and friendliness of Protestant missionaries facing similar conditions.

Men of Maryknoll reveals a robust Christianity. It will increase admiration for missionary work at an hour when there is question as to what lies ahead in this field. And it will not be surprising if the story appeals to many young people to give their lives to a cause that calls for self-denial but in the end yields rich dividends in heart and life—indeed, deep satisfaction year after year. "Come and suffer" still appeals to youth who "hear his voice." The volume is closed with a deepened feeling that men and women of many groups are recognizing his presence at their doors, are hearing his voice, are opening the portals, and making him the companion of their lives.

JAMES H. FRANKLIN

BOOK NOTICES

The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance, by Joseph Leon Blau, New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. ix, 167, $2.25.

The undersigned is not qualified to give a critical review of this book and its exotic subject of the Kabbala, "tradition," (the author Latinizes with Cabala) in the Christian church. He may only serve as a notary public to a work of fine and exact scholarship in a field that modern scholars know little of or naught. Thus Harnack in his encyclopædic *Dogmengeschichte* appears to make no reference to it. It was a development of the mystical treatment of Scripture, a science under the name Zohar, that is, illumination, undertaken from of old by Jewish theologians. Hebrew was the language that angels love, as Milton says, the language in which God spoke to man; and hence was as mystically varied as the nature of the Deity himself. The *illuminati* were favored by underground channels with mystical interpretations of letters, words, phrases; they could see behind the scenes. One of these systems was gematria, by which the given letters of a word were to be interpreted through their mathematical equivalents. A reverse process was the riddle of an arithmetical figure, a case of which occurs in "the figure of the Beast," Rev. 13:17 f. The same book (2:17) notes the stone inscribed with "a new name," which "no one knoweth but he that receiveth it." The roots of Kabbala were indeed ancient. But the present author is concerned with the influence of such mystical interpretation, abracadabra, anagrammatic, upon the Christian scholarship of the Middle Ages, in which the revival of Hebrew studies helped to produce the Protestant Reformation. And those scholars were deeply read in all books of Zohar, accepted, disputed, rejected its results. This volume gives a picture of the lively scholarship of the later Middle Ages; those students were concerned, as believers ever have been since, with the inner meaning of God's Word. It is a field that should not be ignored by the student of Christian history, and the present study is a *unicum* in our day. The learned author's bibliography covers fifteen pages, and includes books mostly of early date, written in Hebrew, Latin, French, Italian, German, some few in English. Appendix D contains a direct example of the ancient cryptic science in presenting at first hand from the old manuscript selections from the sixteenth-century Cabalist Thenaud, whose work in antique French was entitled, in English translation, "The Holy and Very-Christian Cabala."

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

A Judgment of the Old Régime, by Paul Harold Beik, New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 290, $3.00.

This is a study of the manuscript volumes, "Mémoires sur les finances," which were written by the magistrates of the French *parlement* of Provence, in response to Louis XV's request, in 1763, for constructive suggestions on the government's financial problems. As an exposition of the financial and political theories of these critics of the Old Régime, the volume is of interest mainly to students of government and economics. The readers of the CROZER QUARTERLY, however, will find it interesting as an illustration of the muddle-mindedness of men, who are unable to see the ultimate consequences of policies to which they give their support. The magistrates of the *parlement* at Aix in Provence wished to preserve the prestige of the nobility, but the tendencies they encouraged ended in the destruction of the nobility.

They wished to "cause religion to be respected and clergymen to be revered"; yet the end result of the mood they helped create was a violent anticlericalism. Above all, the members of this sovereign court of France were interested in preserving their own corporate rights and privileges, but by "interfering constantly in government's affairs" they weakened "the very structure of the monarchy upon which they depended for their existence." Unknowingly they helped dig their own graves, for the policies they adopted in the years immediately preceding the Revolution were suicidal. Of even greater interest to the student of religion is the discovery in these manuscript records that the so-called "puritan" morality is not peculiar nor even generic to Puritanism as a religious sect. Among these loyal Romanists of the Old Régime we discover that the same ethical valuations developed in response to the evils of a commercial economy as developed among the English sectarians. The proposals of these magistrates for economic and social reform included opposition to idleness, laziness, luxury, waste, vice, love of pleasure and religious holidays, together with an insistence upon thrift, industriousness, honesty, and useful and productive labor as virtues necessary to civic well-being. A strikingly modern note in the thought of these eighteenth-century officials is their emphasis upon the study of population trends as an index of the health of a nation.

WINTHROP S. HUDSON

Aids to Worship, edited by Albert W. Palmer, New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. xi, 139, $2.00.

In the spreading movement toward an increasing use of worship elements in church services, leaders of churches having no historical liturgy find themselves without accredited material. The few pages at the back of most hymnals are suggestive but generally inadequate. A larger supply from a wider field is needed. Dr. Palmer has met this need. Beginning with selections for personal meditation, he continues with introits and calls to worship, confessions of faith, unison and responsive readings from biblical and extra-biblical sources, litanies, responsive prayers, responses for choir and congregation, orders of service, and services of dedication. Such a range of material will be seen to be of unlimited use to laymen as well as to ministers, to individuals as well as to groups, to churches, schools, classes, and societies. Needs and tastes of varying kinds and levels are sure to be supplied or at least stimulated. This is an admirable book, the best in the field, and will come as the answer to the long-felt desire of many an inquiring but unsupplied leader of worship services. Incidentally, the two-page introduction is one of the sanest and most convincing presentations of the character and power of worship to be found anywhere.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON

A Symphony of Prayer, compiled by Herbert Hewitt Stroup, Philadelphia, Judson, ©1944, pp. 247, $2.50.

This book is a good sign of the times. It and the many, many similar books issuing from the press indicate that the "free churches" recognize a need. A visitor from abroad, after worshiping in free churches across America, when asked what most impressed him, replied: "The poor quality of the prayers." As was said of preaching in a certain communion: "It *need* not be as bad as it is." The same is true of many of these prayers. Many are bad in every quality requisite to corporate prayer—from confusion of thought to incorrect English. The desires and aspirations are good and right, but the expression of these desires is too often in the jargon of the classroom or the committee room. There is too-manifest straining after effect

by alliteration, elocutionary tricks, inversion of natural order, etc. Many of these prayers reveal the prevalent faults of free prayer: 1. "telling God" in paragraph after paragraph what Deity must already know; 2. subjectivism—egocentric soliloquy is not prayer; 3. long quotation of Scripture, whether or not it be prayer or meditation upon the nature of God, man, etc.; 4. prolixity—many of these prayers are long enough to be the whole *pastoral prayer,* although they apparently are intended to be but one petition in the "Prayer for the Whole of Christ's Church." This book proves how great is the contemporary need, which the disciples felt when they asked their Master: "Lord, teach us to pray."

JAMES SHACKELFORD DAUERTY

Say Yes to the Light, by Allan A. Hunter, New York, Harper, ©1944, pp. ix, 150, $1.50.

In this little book the minister of the Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, Los Angeles, earnestly bids his readers take the teachings of Jesus seriously. The book is more than a conventional statement of Christian principles; it is a convincing argument for the deepening of the spiritual life, together with some practical suggestions as to the technique of attaining such deepening. Interestingly written the book has stirred in the heart of at least one reviewer a desire to hear Dr. Hunter in his pulpit. It would seem that he has a vital message for our time. The book insists that a definite choice confronts each individual, a choice which must be made: we must either "Say Yes to the Light" or be content to stagnate and so become useless. At times the author urges the necessity of spiritual awareness and responsiveness with an almost feverish intensity which suggests an authentic mysticism. Possibly it is the sense of absolute sincerity at this point which gives the book its undeniable appeal. Certainly it is the sense of sincerity which saves it from the weakness of sentimentality. Probably certain readers of this review will share with the reviewer an innate distaste for what seems rather vague and uncertainly phrased in much mystical literature. For the more naturalistically minded such seeming uncertainty is almost inevitable. It remains to be said that in *Say Yes to the Light* Dr. Hunter has succeeded in putting his mysticism into intelligible, interesting, even compelling words.

HENRY C. NEWELL

Endymion in England, by Edward S. LeComte, New York, King's Crown Press, 1944, pp. xii, 189, $2.25.

The author, instructor in English in Columbia University, states in his Introduction: "This book tries out what is still a novel approach to literary history. Although Professor Douglas Bush, in two books which have been invaluable to the present writer, has traced at fascinating length the course of Greek myth in English poetry, there are certain advantages, both critical and historical, in surveying a particular myth in detail. . . . Actually little has been done in the way of an intensive literary history of a myth, with the exception of that of Prometheus." Both in this intent and in its execution this study deserves respect and confidence—respect, because it undertakes a due share of the increasingly important task of revealing the ties that unite the literatures of so many nations and epochs; confidence, because of the thoroughness with which the material has been extensively explored and evaluated, and, furthermore, allotted due measure of main text and of footnotes and references. The work raises, through a large variety of definite examples and discussions, the important as well as interesting question, or doubt, whether a myth or legend foreign to the temper of a people can ever inspire

integrity and sincerity of mood and feeling or must perforce remain material for the comparatively superficial treatments of sentiment, satire, or mere affectation.

JOHN C. SCAMMELL

Peace Is the Victory, edited by Harrop A. Freeman, New York, Harper, 1944, pp. x, 253, $1.50.

This little symposium contains essays by thirteen well-known pacifists. It does not touch on many questions of practical moment to young pacifists, such as: Shall I register? Shall I go to a C.P.S. camp or to jail? Shall I work in a mental hospital? Shall I demand an opportunity for "work of national importance"? Instead, *Peace Is the Victory* deals with historical, political, economic, and moral roots of war. The pacifism of these writers concentrates on the causes of war, as well as on its ineffectiveness, and is more scholarly than many treatments have been. Whatever the reader's attitude toward pacifism, he will find challenging facts and insights in this volume. Worthy of special mention are: John Haynes Holmes' and A. J. Muste's emphasis on spiritual values, Kirby Page's analysis of the failure of the post-Versailles militaristic policies of France, and Harry Emerson Fosdick's repudiation of isolationism. A good many, even many pacifists, would question the rejection of the use of armed police powers by a future world government as developed in the essays of Mr. Paullin and Mr. Freeman. It is refreshing to find a book so thoughtful, so tolerant, and so free from prejudice as this one is. More writing of this kind is needed to educate humanity away from its present reliance on self-destructive means of settling international differences.

EDGAR SHEFFIELD BRIGHTMAN

Partnership with Christ, by Paul H. Conrad, Philadelphia, Judson, ©1944, pp. 88, $0.40, (paper).

This book is written to provide a course of study on the place of stewardship in the life of a Christian. The author conceives of stewardship as applying to every aspect of life. It is a matter of sharing the whole of living. The volume opens with a discussion of the meaning of partnership, and a comparison of spiritual and secular partnership. It proceeds with a discussion of why it is necessary to have that same sense of "partnership with Christ" pervade every area of life. Its value as a study book is enhanced by the fact that each chapter deals with a special aspect of the subject under consideration. The questions given at the close of each chapter will be helpful as a basis of discussion of the material presented. The author has given a practical and simple discussion of his subject. The conventional approach will limit the usefulness of the volume to use with those who are considering the subject for the first time.

JOHN W. THOMAS

Peace through Co-operation, by J. Henry Carpenter, New York, Harper, ©1944, pp. x, 113, $1.25.

The author of this small volume is the executive secretary of the Brooklyn Federation of Churches, . . . and "probably the best informed church leader on the Co-operative movement." As a churchman he is aware that the church has been selfish, greedy, bigoted, hypocritical, egotistic, and is in great danger from her "vacuous idealism"; yet she has amazing vitality, and in the hour of agony is beginning to find herself. As chairman of the committee on Church and Co-operatives of the Federal Council of Churches, he has found the way of salvation, having been

converted eight years ago. Briefly but tellingly he presents a few pictures of co-operatives at work, chiefly in Nova Scotia, under the leadership of Catholic priests and Protestant ministers, where they are operating with most beneficial results. His conclusion is that without coöperation all will be chaos and coöperation means coöperatives.

I. G. MATTHEWS

The Church and the War, by Karl Barth, New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. xi, 49, $1.00.

This volume is really "The Epistle of Karl Barth to the American Christians at the Time of the Present Global War." It is the latest in a series of somewhat similar letters addressed to Christians in several countries and was written by request to answer certain specific questions of interest to American churchmen formulated by Samuel McCrea Cavert, who writes an excellent introduction. The book opens with a penetrating and careful epitome of the manner in which the Protestant churches of Europe have met the crisis of National Socialism and the problems of the current war. The letter itself deals with two main topics: the proper rôle of the church in wartime and the responsibility of the church in postwar reconstruction. As one would suppose, implicitly underlying the whole discourse are the fundamental tenets of Barthian theology, and the foundation on which the writer bases his letter is the conviction that "Jesus Christ is Lord of the whole creation, manifested as such in His resurrection, which is the evidence that all power has been given to him in heaven and on earth." It is not from any natural law, value of personality, or social ethic but from this ultimately kingly authority of Christ that Barth derives his interesting answers to many of the questions people are asking about the present conflict: the status of the Christian as a loyal subject of a state and a member of the Church Universal, the war as a judgment of God, the war guilt, the function of the minister in a country at war, the rôle of the church in formulating a better political and economic policy in the postwar world, and the spiritual qualifications essential to American Christians who desire to aid the churches in Europe during the reconstruction days. This small volume shows one thing, at least. In this particular phase of Christian endeavor under discussion, Barthianism is not unsocial or otherworldly. While the answers may not seem entirely satisfactory to many readers, especially those who are "non-Continental" in theology, the replies Barth has given to the questions will prove interesting to those seeking a theological interpretation of the rôle of American Christianity in the present war.

CHARLES E. BATTEN

BOOKS RECEIVED

**The Babylonian Talmud in Selection*, edited and translated by Leo Auerbach, New York, Philosophical Library, ©1944, pp. 286, $3.00.

**Revivalism in America*, by William Warren Sweet, New York, Scribner, 1944, pp. xv, 192, $2.00.

**Worship and the Common Life*, by Eric Hayman, New York, Macmillan, (Cambridge, at the University Press), 1944, pp. viii, 155, $2.50.

**The Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith*, New York, King's Crown Press, 1944, pp. xii, 92, $1.25.

At the Master's Feet, by H. H. Hargrove, Nashville, Broadman, ©1944, pp. 211, $1.50.

Nine expository sermons from the Sermon on the Mount by the pastor of the Columbus Avenue Baptist Church of Waco, Texas.

**Shalom: Jewish Teaching on Peace*, by M. Wald, New York, Bloch, 1944, pp. xx, 291, $3.50.

**The Ten Commandments in a Changing World*, by Isaac Klein, New York, Bloch, 1944, pp. xviii, 141, $1.75.

**Religion and the Issues of Life*, by Eugene W. Lyman, New York, Revell, 1943, pp. 140, $1.00.

**A Certain Blind Man*, by Robert Elliot Fitch, New York, Scribner, 1944, pp. xi, 181, $2.00.

The Divine-Human Encounter, by Emil Brunner, Philadelphia, Westminster, ©1943, pp. 207, $2.50.

**The Clue to Pascal*, by Emile Cailliet, Philadelphia, Westminster, ©1943, pp. 187, $2.00.

**The Church and the Liberal Society*, by Emmet John Hughes, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. xv, 310, $3.00.

**The Problem of Pain*, by C. S. Lewis, New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. ix, 148, $1.50.

**Orestes Brownson*, by Theodore Maynard, New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. xvi, 456, $3.00.

**Carmelite and Poet,* by Robert Sencourt, New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. x, 278, $3.00.

**The Romance of the Ministry,* by Raymond Calkins, Boston, Pilgrim, ©1944, pp. xiii, 253, $2.00.

**The Silent Billion Speak,* by Frank C. Laubach, New York, Friendship, ©1943, pp. vi, 201, $1.00.

**Naturalism and the Human Spirit,* edited by Yervant H. Krikorian, New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. x, 397, $4.50.

**The Predicament of Modern Man,* by D. Elton Trueblood, New York, Harper, ©1944, pp. ix, 105, $1.00.

**Good News of God,* by Charles E. Raven, New York, Harper, ©1944, pp. 104, $1.25.

**Soldiers' Bibles through Three Centuries,* by Harold R. Willoughby, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, ©1944, pp. 43 and 16 facsimiles, $1.00.

**The Social Gospel of Walter Rauschenbusch and Its Relation to Religious Education,* by Vernon Parker Bodein, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944, pp. ix, 168, $2.00.

**The Arts and Religion,* edited by Albert Edward Bailey, New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. xiv, 180, $2.50.

**Down Peacock's Feathers,* by D. R. Davies, New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. xi, 188, $1.75.

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